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EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

BEING ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE EMPIRE
CLUB OF CANADA DURING ITS SESSION
OF 1907-1908

EDITED BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

FIFTH YEAR OF ISSUE

ILLUSTRATED

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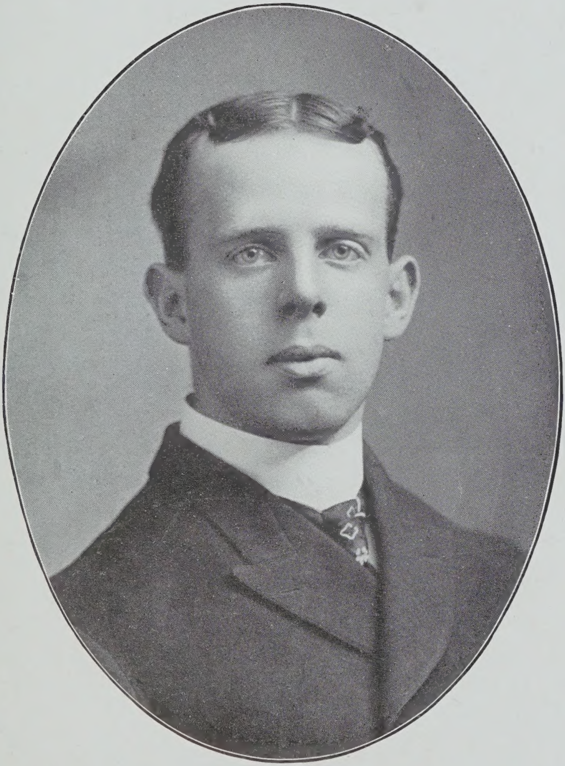

Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.

President of the Empire Club, 1907-8.

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PRINCIPLES OF THE CLUB.

The object of the Club is the advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

2. Membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject.

3. Honourary members may be elected from time to time upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee at any open meeting of the Club.

4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

5. The fee for admission shall be the sum of One Dollar, payable annually in advance. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or shall be eligible for office, or have the right to attend at any meeting of the Club. Honourary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but will not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

6. The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honourary President; a President; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Vice-Presidents; a Treasurer; a Secretary, and ten other members who together shall constitute, with the officers before mentioned, the Executive Committee, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. Two auditors shall also be elected at each annual meeting.

7. The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months, with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon. Nominations for office shall be made at the second general meeting of the Club in October of each year, and the elections shall take place at the next succeeding meeting, and this latter meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. At the annual meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President and this report shall be accompanied by a report of the Treasurer duly audited.

8. In the event of any office becoming vacant by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so selected shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

9. The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

10. One week's written notice shall be given of all annual or special meetings to the members of the Club.

11. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called on a requisition signed by twelve members, and stating the object of the meeting. This object to be also stated in the notice calling the meeting.

12. The President's and Treasurer's Annual Reports, together with the list of members and the Constitution of the Club, shall be published in pamphlet form immediately after the annual meeting in each year.

13. This Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

14. Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, General, Annual or Special ; six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

CLAUSE II.

"The active membership of the Club shall be limited to five hunderd, and membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen who is a British subject."

CLAUSE VI.

"That the election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held in the month of May in each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such annual meeting, and such committee shall report to the annual meeting. That Past Presidents of the Club shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee."

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1903-4.

President - - - - Lieut.-Colonel James Mason.
1st Vice-President - - Prof. William Clark, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.
2nd Vice-President - - Mr. Hugh Blain.
3rd Vice-President - - Mr. James P. Murray.
Hon. Secretary - - - Mr. J. F. M. Stewart.
Hon. Treasurer - - - Major J. Cooper Mason, D.S.O
Literary Secretary - - Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.
Editor of Annual Volume - Prof. William Clark, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.

Committee.

Frank Darling, F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Alex. Fraser,
Capt. E. Wyly Grier, R.C.A., W. E. Lincoln Hunter, Wallace Jones,
Robert Junkin, Noel Marshall, H. C. Osborne,
F. B. Polson.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1904-5.

President - - - - Lieut.-Colonel James Mason.
1st Vice-President - - Prof. William Clark, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.
2nd Vice-President - - Mr. Hugh Blain.
3rd Vice-President - - Mr. James P. Murray.
Hon. Secretary - - - Mr. J. F. M. Stewart.
Hon. Treasurer - - - Major J. Cooper Mason, D.S.O.
Literary Sec'y and Editor - Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.

Committee.

F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Frank Darling, Alex. Fraser,
Major E. Wyly Grier, W. E. Lincoln Hunter, Wallace Jones,
Robert Junkin, Noel Marshall, H. C. Osborne,
F. B. Polson.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1905–6.

President - - - - Prof. William Clark, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.
1st Vice-President - - Mr. James P. Murray.
2nd Vice-President - - Mr. Robert Junkin.
3rd Vice-President - - Mr. J. F. M. Stewart.
Hon. Secretary - - - - Mr. W. J. Green.
Hon. Treasurer - - - - Mr. L. A. Winter.
Literary Sec'y and Editor - Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.

Committee.

Alex. Fraser, Major J. Cooper Mason, J. M. Clark, K.C.,
S. Alfred Jones, F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Major E. Wyly Grier,
J. Castell Hopkins, H. C. Osborne, W. H. Orr,
Dr. E. Clouse.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1906–7.

President - - - - Mr. James P. Murray.
1st Vice-President - - Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.
2nd Vice-President - - Mr. J. M. Clark, K.C.
3rd Vice-President - - Mr. H. C. Osborne.
Hon. Secretary - - -
Hon. Treasurer - - Mr. E. V. Portway.
Literary Secretary - -
Editor of Annual Volume - Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.

Committee.

Alexander Fraser, H. S. Pell, E. Clouse, M.D.,
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, J. Castell Hopkins, G. H. Muntz,
D. J. Goggin, D.C.L., E. K. Richardson, M.D., J. R. Roaf,
W. J. Green, Major J. Cooper Mason,
Lieut.-Colonel James Mason, Prof. William Clark.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1907–8.

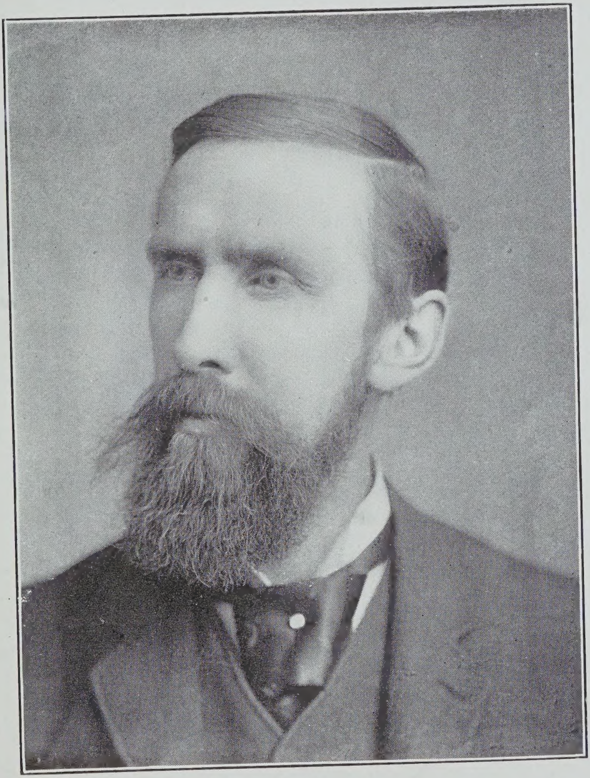
President - - - - - - Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.
1st Vice-President - - - Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., LL.D.
2nd Vice-President - - - Mr. Elias Clouse, M.D.
3rd Vice-President - - - Mr. James R. Roaf.
Hon. Secretary - - - -
Hon. Treasurer - - - - Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., LL.D.
Literary Secretary - - -
Editor of Annual Volume - - Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.

Committee.

E. M. Chadwick,
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh,
Rev. Dr. T. C. S. Macklem,
Dr. W. H. Pepler,
W. A. Sherwood, A.R.C.A.,
Prof. William Clark,
J. M. Clark, K.C.,
J. Castell Hopkins,
G. Harold Muntz,
Dr. E. K. Richardson,
Lieut.-Col. J. Mason,
James P. Murray.

Hon. President, 1894-1908:
LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL, G.C.M.G.

Hon. Member, 1894-1908:
RT. HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.



The Hon. George E. Foster, M.P.,
of Toronto.

EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE OF 1907.

An address by HON. GEORGE E. FOSTER, D.C.L., M.P., formerly Finance Minister of Canada, before the Empire Club of Canada, on May 9th, 1907.

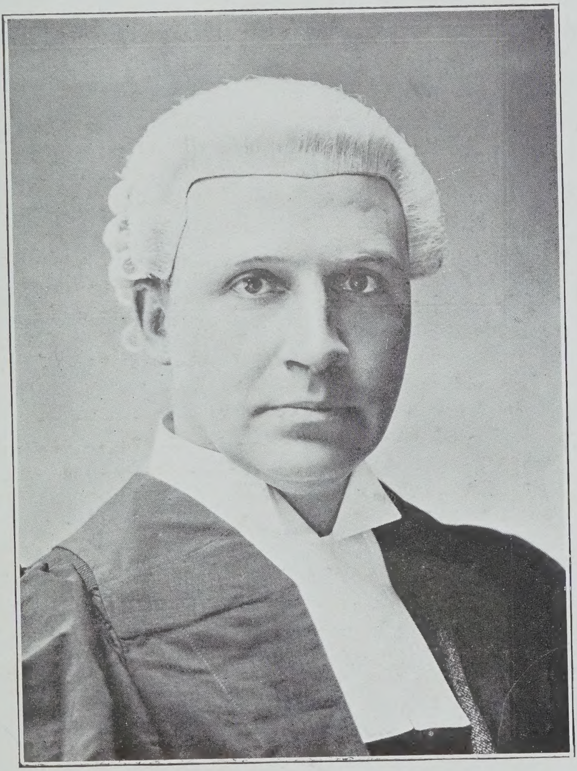
Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

What struck me when you were going through your business was this: That if there is anything in a name this Club ought to be inspired. It is a good thing to have a name, but I suppose it is well for us to understand sometimes what its significance is, and the name you bear brings responsibilities upon you. It is said that the old Roman saw in himself and around him all the ancestors whose names he bore, and that he felt that every deed and every honourable action which had been performed by them left it upon his shoulders that he was to do nothing to derogate from that long list of honour and, if possible, he was to add another name as honourable as any that had been upon the roll. Well now, something like that comes upon you. You bear the name of the Empire, and the Empire is a pretty big arrangement, a pretty important thing; it counts for a great deal in this world of ours, and you have got to stiffen up your shoulders and make your limbs good and strong to bear the weight of that portion of Empire work that falls upon you through the coming years.

Another thought is this: Sometimes we have an idea that we belong to an Empire which has been a long while growing up and is just about finished, and if we take that view we make a mistake. As I look over the field and see the wonderful openings of the future with all the wonderful discoveries that are now being put to practical use, with all the immense aggregation of dynamic force which has been accumulating for thousands of years, it seems to me that the Empire of Britain, great as it is and old as it is, is just about beginning its work; its new and greater and most splendid work if it be entered upon properly and pursued with intelligence and diligence. What I mean is that there is no more critical time in the whole history of the Empire, taking the past and future together, and there will be no more critical period than now, when the old is being added to by the new; not simply as an accretion but as an independent factor having its own thoughts, thinking and working out its own destiny; full of hope and confidence and courage in mighty new fields that are practically inexhaustible, in every one of which may dwell an Empire of larger population than the whole Empire is to-day. I say when you see these new countries coming up along side of the Old Country and the old country renewing her youth in them and all sitting down together, as they have been for this last week or fortnight, talking over the affairs of this world-wide combination of people; that in the action and the decision which takes place in the few years which are just now opening depends, more than we can think of, what that vast British Empire shall be in the future and what place it shall hold amongst the great powers and nations of the world. So that if anybody has been running away with the opinion that the old Empire is finished and there is no more mechanism and no more work to be put upon it, he had better get out of the idea and drill himself into the exactly opposite one that there was never more skillful workmanship and never more ingenious and strong thought required than at present for the building up of this Empire.

A third point is this: I do not know what will be the outcome of this Imperial Conference which is just now ending its labours. No one of us can tell. I would be very sorry to give an opinion as to what has been done, because everything is very fragmentary. The newspapers do the best they can, but they are fragmentary in their reports, and so it is impossible for us to have a just idea of the work which has been done. But there are three things that force themselves on my mind and the first is this: that the present Conference, which is now sitting, occupies an unique position, in that it is the first business Conference that has stood in the Empire by itself. Every one that has taken place before this has been the tail-end of some great celebration, or jubilee of some sort, and consequently has been what you may call simply a side-show, and therefore has not concentrated the thought and attention of the Empire upon it. For the first time the Conference has met by itself, and to do its own work without any extraneous attractions of any kind, met for a business purpose, and to engage in business work, and so it has centered the opinion and thought and attention of the Old Country more than any preceding convention or conference that has taken place. That is a great thing to be gained. It is an object lesson standing there in the midst of London to-day, an object lesson which every British man and woman looks at, and the significance of which sinks into his or her mind. Here are the Premiers, representatives of all the great out-lying and central parts of the Empire; they are there in London conferring together upon the mighty destinies of this Empire. That is a tremendous thought to have sink into the minds of the people of this Empire.

The next thing is that there has been a permanence given to the Conference that it never had before. It was occasional. It might meet now or next year, or six years hence; it might never meet again. Now it has been settled that it is to meet regularly. But that is not the best of it; it has also been settled that between the times of meeting there shall be a complete pushing forward and carrying on of the work which it began at the previous meeting; for it has now a permanent Secretariat, the constitution of which we do not know, but we know that it will be good, and it takes up every bit of work which has been done and carries it on, and prepares for the work of the next Conference, and thereby makes that Conference better than it otherwise would be. Those are two things which have been, I think, unique and distinguishing characteristics of this Conference. Another, and by no means a slighter one, is that it has brought the question of trade preference in the British Empire to a place which it has never held before. This policy has encountered some obstacles and felt some difficulties, and the obstacles and difficulties have, to an over-enthusiastic man, appeared to be almost sufficient to make him lose hope, but on the other hand it has at last accomplished the conversion to a definite, plain, trade preference principle of one of the most eminent statesmen in Great Britain to-day, the Leader of the Opposition, and consequently has had the effect of unifying one great party in England, however large or powerful it may be, in favour of the principle of preference between the different parts of the Empire. Now I think that is a collateral gain which puts the question where it can never again be side-tracked, where it takes the central position as a part of the policy of a great party, and we hope of a great Empire in time; and we have got to be very careful that we do not lose hope, and very thoughtful that immense changes like these can only be gradually brought about, and we have to put our shoulder to the wheel in every part of British Dominions; and instead of thinking there is no chance for the preference, think exactly the opposite, which I believe is true, that never at any preceding time has the principle of trade preferences and uniform goodwill toward each other in different parts of the Empire been stronger or on the greater and wider high road to fulfillment than it is at the present time."



Mr. Hamar Greenwood, M.P.
for York in the British House of Commons.

BRITISH DIPLOMACY AND CANADIAN RESPONSIBILITIES.

Address before the Empire Club of Canada, on September 13th, 1907, by Mr. Hamar Greenwood, M.P. for York in the British House of Commons.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Believe me, I appreciate your invitation to speak because it comes from an Empire Club, and I appreciate it all the more because you have gone out of your way to honour a humble Canadian. I might also say that I can promise you at your next gathering, in Sir Daniel Morris, a great pleasure. He is one of those Empire administrators who, in a quiet way, has done more to advance agriculture, horticulture, and therefore prosperity, in the West Indies than any other man of his time. He and I were together in the Kingston earthquake. He went down for agricultural purposes; I went down for rest. Neither of us got what we expected, but we both survived; indeed, at one time there was a great risk of my becoming more famous as a survivor than as a politician. I speak to you, gentlemen, this afternoon not only as a Canadian by birth and, I may say, in my democratic ideals, but I also speak to you as one who has had the privilege of spending some twelve years of a very, very strenuous life in the public affairs of the home country, and I want to speak this afternoon from the point of view of that home country, and of a man who views the British Empire from the royal palace of Westminister and from the Colonial Office, and not so much as one who so often in Canada views the Empire only from the local platform.

I take it that we have before us as a Dominion three possibilities: First, absorption with the American Republic, which, I agree with you, is unthinkable; secondly, independence, which to me is equally unthinkable; and thirdly, the maintenance of our present position and a strengthening, in so far as we can strengthen it. as the first daughter nation of this the greatest Empire the world has ever seen. I believe that is the splendid destiny of our Dominion, and I am one of those who, in the home country, in my native country, and in the foreign countries I have had the honour to visit, advocate that as the future of the Dominion. But this position entails upon Canada increased and increasing Imperial responsibility. There was a time, indeed, within my short life in England, when I can remember that this great Dominion occupied less space in the public eye, less space in the public press, and less consideration in the public mind at home than some country like Portugal or Belgium, or other such powers. All that is changed. You are no longer an unimportant portion of the British Empire; you are, with India, I take it, the greatest and most important part; and in so far as the potentialities of the Britisher is concerned unquestionably the most important part next to the Mother Country. Therefore, it becomes every Canadian to remember that Canada in foreign affairs can no longer act like a child, but must act like a full-grown daughter in the mother's household, and that every word a Canadian may speak, or act a Canadian may do, either politically or in so far as he can personally do it, should be done with thoughtful consideration as to the effect upon the British Empire as a whole.

The Foreign Secretary of this Empire is responsible for your foreign relations. You can make what treaties of commerce you will; you can settle your tariff questions within and without; you enjoy the fullness of independence; but when you come to deal with any serious matters that may result in war you do not count with a foreign nation. In the first place, the foreigner treats the British Empire as a unit and deals only with the Foreign Secretary, who sits in London. And I say, therefore, that as this great Dominion has now emerged, none too soon, from a comparatively humble position in the world to a very important position, it becomes every thoughtful Canadian to let his mental attitude become less and less local and more and more Imperial in dealing with the foreign affairs of the Dominion, which mean its relations with the Empire. May I remind you that since the Napoleonic wars Canada has never come into serious consideration in foreign affairs, but owing to your great development many international arrangements and interests are rapidly emerging. More than that, owing to the overwhelming defeat of Russia by an Oriental power, the sudden rise of Japan, and following that, the Oriental immigration question on the Pacific Coast, this Dominion has suddenly come within the arena of foreign politics, and to-day you have the danger zone of the world, in so far as our own Empire is concerned, shifted from the northwest frontier of India, where huge armies have for a generation been massed, to the Pacific Coast of this Dominion.

I repeat that the Canadian who makes a reckless statement about a foreign power able to defend itself on the sea or in the battlefield, or throws a brick-bat in the name of wages or a high standard of living, may be commencing a war between two empires which would mean the ruin of the industry and the enterprise of our great Dominion. At this moment on the Pacific slope an issue has been raised that will tax all the power and all the intelligence of the great Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, who now has our foreign affairs under his control, and let me say on this point that the foreign affairs of the British Empire are not controlled by any party, but are always controlled by the retiring and the present holders of the office of Foreign Secretary. That, at any rate, in the Empire is not a party concern, but is really an Imperial duty, properly appreciated by men like Lord Lansdowne and Sir Edward Grey. This Japanese issue which has been going on for many months in the Foreign Office has been brought to a head by some very foolish people in the beautiful city of Vancouver. What is the position of Canada? Is it all right for Canadians to say, as some do, "we will have a white man's country, and no Jap need apply?" Gentlemen, I believe in a white Canada, I believe in strengthening the white portions of the Empire in the interests of the Empire. But while one has a local ideal, you must not forget you have an Imperial responsibility, and it is impossible to treat the subjects of the Mikado of Japan in any way that will humiliate them unless by a reasonable and fair treaty you get the Mikado's Government to agree to the treatment.

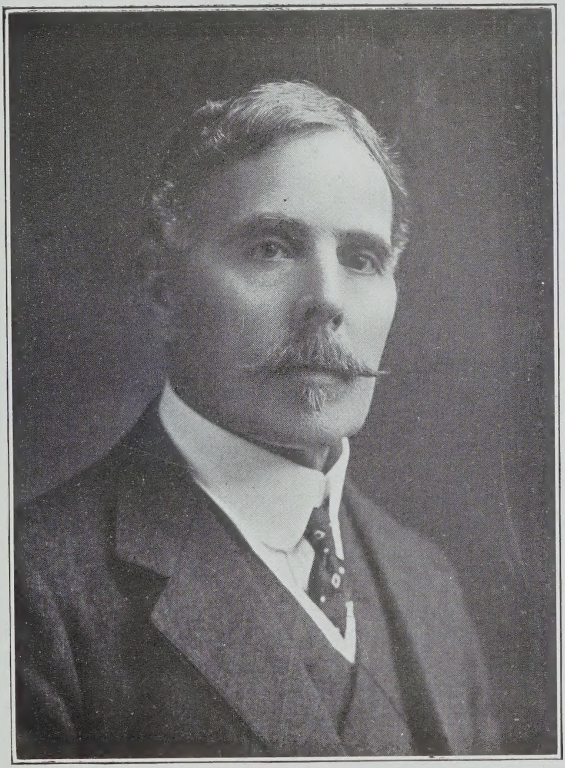
That the Japanese immigration to this country will never be dangerous in its extent I really believe. That Sir Edward Grey, assisted by the best and most patient opinion of this country, will be able to make arrangements with that great foreign Power I have no doubt whatever—arrangements that, as far as is humanly possible, will be in accordance with the predominant opinion of the people of this Dominion. But for any Canadian to imagine that he can by bludgeons dictate the foreign policy of this Empire is in my mind to indicate that he is not up to his Imperial responsibilities. I believe more in the patient loyalty of men who are prepared to go slowly in dealing with a great and dangerous Power like Japan than those who are prepared to take off their coats and rush the Japanese quarter. Now, if I refer to this particular question in language that I intend and hope is serious, I hope you will not for a moment run away with the idea that I am unduly pessimistic. I have had the pleasure of meeting distinguished Japanese in London; I have had the pleasure of discussing this identical question with them. It has always been the glory of John Bull that wherever a wandering Britisher travelled he was under the protection of the might and the majesty of the British Empire. It is that sentiment that is the predominant sentiment among the big men of Japan in dealing with the Japanese, and the humblest emigrant of that Oriental country will call forth the might of that Empire as easily as I hope the might of our own Empire will always rally to the safety and the honour of the British subject.

We have to change our whole idea of inferior races to meet this new conflict of interests and powers. You can deal as you like with the Chinaman for he is a patient fellow. He has no great Government behind him. You can deal as you will with the long-suffering Hindu. He has no nationality behind him and he is not viewed by the people of his own clan, class, or kingdom in the same way that a wandering Jap is viewed by the highly organized government of the Mikado. But, believe me, you cannot trifle with the Japanese, and whilst I say locally we must make a white Canada our ideal in the interests of our Dominion, and in the interests of posterity, and in the interests of the Empire, yet, unless we realize the delicacy of our foreign relations, especially with this Oriental Power, and unless we realize the necessity of endorsing by patient loyalty the efforts of the Foreign Secretary of the time, we will do more to bring about unrest and possible war than we can possibly do in any other way.

That, gentlemen, is my message to you this afternoon. Your loyalty is undoubted, but the patience of the loyalty of some of our Canadian friends is certainly doubted, and I am one who believes that this riot in Vancouver has not helped, but has hindered, the solution of the Oriental immigration question in so far as it concerns Japan, and I regret with a full heart that it is necessary, as it will be necessary, for the Foreign Secretary of this great Empire to make humble apology to the Mikado and to his Government for the reckless efforts of thoughtless people in the streets of Vancouver. And just on that point, speaking as one not at all opposed to labour organizations here or elsewhere, if the labour unions of this country are to draw their patriotism and their support from Foreign countries like the United States, they can depend upon it the Foreign Office in England will not deal with them in the same way it otherwise would. The Foreign Secretary of the British Empire can have no patience, can have no consideration, and can show no indulgence for a movement that has its source and draws its support from a foreign country, and a country not always friendly to this great Dominion and Empire.

One word more and I am done. I am a believer in short speeches, for the older one lives in English public life the quieter does one speak, and the more brief are his speeches. I know many of my Canadian friends who would be chastened to a state of perfection if they lived for some time in the public life of England. However, the vigour of your atmosphere and the optimism of the people engender long speeches. I enjoy the vigour; I believe in the optimism; but, as I say, I am not a long speaker now. In our dream—indeed, it is no longer a dream—in our belief, our unswerving belief, in the unity of the British Empire, two things in my mind are essential for a practical realization. First, a unanimity of purpose; that is, that the myriads of men and women who go to make up the subjects of the King believe in a drawing closer together of the different parts of this Empire. And, secondly, a unanimity of method. If either of these fundamentals fail I believe unity is impossible. And I personally think it is puerile to imagine that any scheme that may be propounded here or elsewhere will be fruitful of really good results if it splits the electorate of this country, of Australia, of South Africa, or of the Home country; and whilst you may dream your dreams as to your own particular scheme, so far as I could impress upon you I would urge the taking up that which is nearest to hand, however humble it may be, and upon which we are all agreed, so that we can be unanimous in method and make a step forward in Imperial unity.

Split electorates make Imperial unity impossible, but unanimous electorates make, in my mind, for the strongest Imperial unity. And on that question, that phase of the Imperial question, there are two great things which I believe are gradually uniting the whole of the varied races that swear allegiance to the flag—the all-red route scheme which has taken hold in England and is being very cordially and sympathetically considered by its Government; and Sir Sandford Fleming's great Imperial cable scheme, which is a sound and excellent one, and which will unite the peoples throughout our Empire.



THE HON. SIR DANIEL MORRIS, K.C.M.G., D.C.L., F.L.S.
Imperial Commissioner of Agriculture for the British West Indies.

WEST INDIAN RECOLLECTIONS AND CONDITIONS.

Address by the HON. SIR DANIEL MORRIS, K.C.M.G., D.C.L., F.L.S., Imperial Commissioner of Agriculture for the British West Indies, before the Empire Club of Canada, on September 20th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I am very glad of the opportunity of meeting the members of the Empire Club. I am a Vice-President of a similar club in the West Indies, and its aims and objects are, I believe, exactly on the same lines as those of this Club. I think I can be accepted in this assembly as a representative of the West Indies; in fact, I am the only man at present in the West Indies who is officially connected with all the Colonies. There are altogether eight colonies in the West Indies. They each have their own government, their own legislative council, and their own institutions. This is the first time that an attempt has been made to start a federal institution, and that federal institution is now called the Imperial Department of Agriculture. It has been supported hitherto entirely from Imperial funds, and Mr. Chamberlain brought the Department into existence in the hope that by means of improved agricultural methods and improved knowledge amongst planters in the West Indies they might be able to work out their own salvation.

This is not the first time that I have visited Canada. I was here in 1902, and last year I spent a week in Montreal, a week in Quebec, and about a fortnight in the Maritime Provinces. This is the first opportunity I have had of making acquaintance with this magnificent city of Toronto, and I am pleased indeed that I have been able to stay so long in the city and to make the acquaintance of such a large number of prominent people connected with it. I sincerely wish the Club every success, and especially I wish success to the noble ideal of maintaining connection with the Mother Country, and of true loyalty to the person and throne of our King. There is no doubt that in some respects it is a very great benefit to the Mother Country to be in contact with her Colonies. That was very well expressed not long ago by Mr. Lyttelton, late Colonial Secretary. He mentioned a little story of a child and a very elderly lady, Mrs. Norton, who was then nearly eighty years of age. The child turned to the old lady and said: "Are you very young?" "Yes, my dear," answered the old lady, "I am very young, but I have been very young for a very long time." So it is with England. While the unity of the Empire is maintained, England is always receiving fresh accessions of vigour. Her ideals are larger, and her outlook is neither cramped nor settled. She has, in fact, the weight and experience of age, with all the hopefulness of youth.

I think that is a very important point connected with the welfare both of the Mother Country and of her Colonies. We have coming to England at the present time a very large number of Americans and Colonials. The Americans, as a rule, come there in order to enjoy the riches they have acquired in America, and to be able to take advantage of the old civilization that exists in the United Kingdom. The Colonials, on the other hand, are there in the Empire with their young life and energy, with their intimate relations with the Mother Country, and they contribute a very valuable share of the life and energy of the Empire, in spite of the considerable amount of time and attention that is devoted to purely national affairs.

Now with regard to the connection between the Mother Country and the West Indies, I mentioned to you just now that there are eight colonies in the West Indies altogether. We have Jamaica, British Honduras, British Guiana. Off the continent of South America we have the Islands of Trinidad, the Windward Islands, Barbadoes, St. Vincent and St. Lucia. We have the Leeward Islands, Antigua, Dominique, Montserrat, and the Virgin Islands. Those possessions are all British. They comprise a population of two and a quarter million, and these people are, practically, a remnant of a population that was very rich in olden times, rich in possessions as well as in many other respects. The West Indies had their days of prosperity before the emancipation of slaves, when the people of England peopled the islands with the best of their nobility and the best of their men of enterprise and energy.

The West Indies are very different from many other portions of the Colonial Empire in the fact that they have a large negro population, and that the white people are men who own large plantations, who live on the plantations, and who still keep up an intimate connection with the Mother Country. For instance, they send their sons to be educated in England, and a large number of planters in the West Indies, especially in the Island of Barbadoes, have been educated at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In fact, there is an annual dinner of the members of those universities which takes place at Barbadoes, and usually about forty or fifty men are present. A large number of them are active planters, who are looking after their estates and maintaining the prestige of the British people in that part of the world. The same thing occurs also in British Guiana, and, in some respects, Trinidad. Our white population is comparatively small. Probably it does not exceed 15% of the whole population of the West Indies. The rest are black people. I think we can claim that in the West Indies, as in other parts of the world, the British people have treated the native races with great consideration and with great wisdom and judgment. To begin with, when the slaves had to be emancipated the Government, instead of compelling the people to emancipate their slaves without compensation, gave them compensation. That was done neither in the United States, nor in Brazil, nor in Russia, nor anywhere else. But England did not give the slaves power over the white people, as in the United States. We have kept them in a contented condition; treated them fairly and honestly, with the result that the black people in the West Indies give us little or no trouble.

With regard to the future of the West Indies I am more hopeful possibly than a good many people. I have for now nearly thirty years taken a deep interest in their welfare. I was sent there from Ceylon in 1879, and at once took up my work in Jamaica of organizing a system of botanical gardens and experimental stations that seemed to meet the requirements of the people. A Royal Commission was sent out in 1883, and I was asked to sketch out a scheme of agriculture suited to the West Indies. I did so, but for twenty years no one at home or in the Islands was prepared to put such a scheme into operation. A Royal Commission was sent out in 1896 by Mr. Chamberlain, consisting of three eminent men: Sir Edward Grey, now Foreign Secretary; Sir David Barber, and Sir Henry Norman. They made a tour of the country, and I was asked to go with them. They recommended the scheme which I had prepared in 1883, and although I then held an appointment and was settled in Kew, England—giving, however, all the time that I possibly could to the West Indies—Mr. Chamberlain sent for me and asked me to come out and take charge of the new Department. Although loth to do so, I accepted the position. I gave up my appointment at Kew and came out nine years ago. I am glad to say that, without claiming any more than a fair share of credit for the improvement that has taken place in the West Indies, they are now in a better condition than they have been at any time during the past forty years.

When I come to Canada and advocate, as I do most earnestly, closer trade relations between the West Indies and Canada, I do not ask you to hold out the hand of fellowship to a poor relation. I ask you to help make a part of the world that has been under a cloud for a good many years, and a part of the world that has still an immense amount of valuable resources, and only wants to be helped along in the path that it has struck out for itself. The land is as good as it ever was. Some islands have been producing sugar for two hundred years, and the soil and the land and the people are all there, as anxious and as eager to go on growing sugar, or any other crops, as they ever were. I believe that when the West Indies fully realize their opportunities they will be able to grow not only large crops of sugar, but also cotton, india rubber, hemp, cigars and tea. There is a very large plantation of tea in Jamaica, and Jamaica tea, I can assure you from actual experience, is a very good tea indeed. I spoke the other day at the Board of Trade about Jamaica cigars. They are quite as good as the Cuban cigars, and I hope they will soon be used at clubs in Canada. I shall be very glad to assist in introducing them, because in London all the clubs have Jamaica cigars, and they are very much liked.

Another point about which I would like to say a few words is that the West Indies in the olden days were the source of great wealth to England. For instance, the historian, Bryan Edwards, in 1793 said: "The West Indies are the main source of Great Britain's opulence and maritime power." This was literally true then, and it was partly true one hundred years afterwards. Not only did the West Indies produce an enormous amount of wealth that enabled them to build up the prestige of Great Britain, but also there came from the West Indies a large number of very eminent people; not American heiresses, who are pratically foreigners, but heiresses who could claim descent from some scion or other of noble family that had settled in the West Indies. I may tell you that Jamaica, during the Napoleonic wars, voted a half-million sterling towards the cause of Empire defence, and also that the little Island of Barbadoes, called "Little England," wrote a letter to King George III. and told him not to despair, that they were behind him, and that if anything happened to him he could come out and they would make him King of Barbadoes.

I need not detain you longer, but I should like you to carry away with you this idea—that for two or three hundred years the West Indies were a source of immense wealth to the Mother Country; that a large number of the most prominent names in history were associated with the Islands; that all that did exist in the West Indies as regards material wealth is still there. What has killed the West Indies was the fiscal action of the Imperial Government with regard to sugar and other products, which followed slave emancipation. I am glad to say that both in England and elsewhere there is a very much better feeling now being shown towards the West Indies, and I therefore appeal to the people of Canada to do all they can to help the fortunes of these historic Islands. Their people are picking up and trying to imbibe some of the wonderful energy that is to be found in this northern climate, and trying also, hand in hand with the people of Canada, to make this part of the British Empire in the new world as strong and important as it ought to be.

The Rev. Dr. R. A. Falconer: The West Indies are very dear to my own heart. Although I am a Canadian, and was ten years old before I ever saw any of the West Indies, still I lived there for eight years, and I can assure you that there is no one more competent to speak of the West Indies than Sir Daniel Morris. I think we should very heartily try to second any effort that he has put forth in directing the attention of Canada to the West Indies. He has told you that they are lands of romance. The charm of the West Indies is certainly most fascinating. We in Canada cannot afford to neglect them and allow their produce to turn to other lands. They are only, I believe, in their beginning. Since I left Trinidad its population has doubled; not only has the population doubled, but the tone of the people is rising. They are being educated.

The black of the West Indies is quite a different character from that of the Southern States, and the purchasing power of these people is increasing constantly. They are taking professional courses and reaching out for larger things. It is to this quality increase that you can look for the future. In addition to that a very material extent of these countries has not been fully investigated. Take, for instance, Demarara. I cannot remember the full extent of British Guiana, but it must be 90,000 square miles. It is only a stretch of the shore that has yet been touched. There is the vast hinterland farther back. I heard the other day that diamonds have been found in British Guiana. Just a strip of the country is now populated, and I believe that we ought to realize that in that country, within two thousand miles of Halifax, we have latent possibilities in which we surely ought to have interest, and not only because of the romantic connection of these Islands with the past and our sympathetic interest in them, but because of the material possibilities, we ought not to allow them to slip.

THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL LIFE

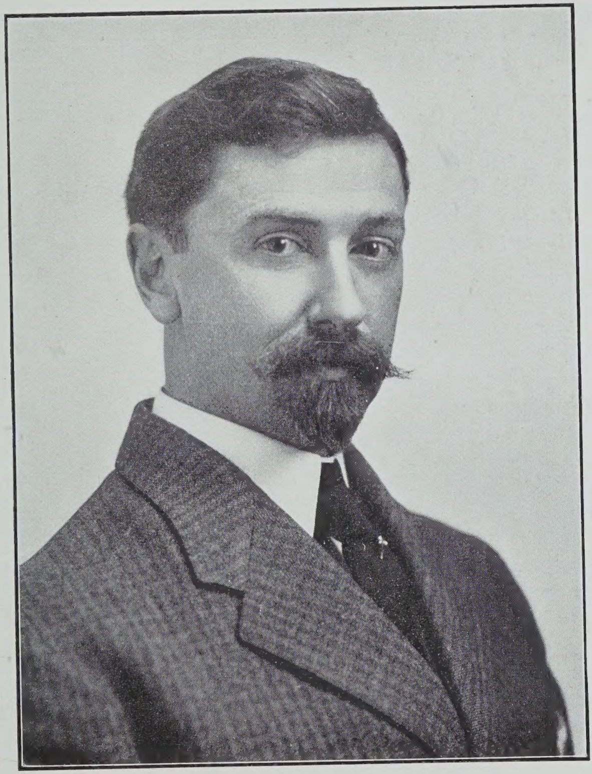
Address by MR. JAMES A. EMERY, Secretary of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, New York, before the Empire Club of Canada, on September 26th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

You have a most happy habit in this beautiful Dominion of getting together to talk things over, and you think enough of exchanging thoughts to take a little time from your business occasionally to do so. The average business man in the United States would no more think of holding a gathering like this at lunch-time than he would think of knocking the knot-hole out of his cash drawer. It is one of the misfortunes of an age marked by the most marvelous of material development that the reaction from the stimulus of tremendous industry has tended to materialize the mind.

Because I have occasion to devote much of my time and thought to the condition and discussion of questions arising from the relations between employer and employee, and the relations of both to the State, and because I have chosen and have thought conscientiously that I ought to criticize certain activities of organized labour, as of organized capital, I am represented as one who is an enemy of organized labour because I criticize those things in which I deem it wrong, although I never hesitate to approve it in all those things in which I think it right. And I have the further difficulty of being always presented as one who possibly cannot discuss anything except industrial questions, and who is not concerned in any issue that is before the people of Canada or the United States except the relation of capital and labour, if I may use those terms which are so frequently applied to these two great collective camps.

Why, gentlemen, I do hope that I can sometimes think of other things than the Labour question, but I must confess that it is a weakness of my mind that it has



Mr. James A. Emery.

Secretary of the Citizens' Industrial Association, New York.

rather concentrated upon certain relations, not merely of organizations of labour, but of all organizations in the State of which their members are citizens; that I have been chiefly concerned with the proper relation of organizations, not alone of labour, but equally of capital, not alone of employees, but equally of employers, to the State in which they are both citizens; and, living in an age of organization, I have been very much impressed with the fact that consolidation or organization has its dangers no less than its benefits, and that, in regard to this great period of the race's growth, in which its tendencies are all turned to secure consolidation of human effort for the multiplication of human energy, that there are serious evils and temptations in collective action by human beings, just as there are tremendous benefits to themselves and to their race; and because I believe these things I have been the critic of what I believe to be the dangers, the abuses, and the excesses of organization, believing that one of the greatest issues of our day is to square the organization of individual human beings with the principles which your blood and mine represent in civil government.

We are all parts of civil society. We did not get into society, abstractly speaking, from choice—we woke up and found ourselves there without any wish on our part, or exercise of will. We can choose the form of society under which we live, but we cannot help living in some kind of society, and we have chosen, on account of our blood, on account of our belief in certain things for which the form of society in which we live stands, to live under the flag of England, or the United States, or the Empire, because we believe that the type of government that that flag calls for represents the highest development and flower of humanized effort in civil institutions. You have organized in this Dominion the Empire Club. As the citizens of a new land you look with affection and gratitude back to the mother that bore you, back to the land whose traditions, whose laws, whose spirit, and whose principles are the foundation of your own. You realize that with the tremendous development of the material sources which civilization is daily uncovering, with the power which we possess to make servants of all the physical forces about us, with the investigations which science and scholarship and learning and technical skill are daily unrolling for the benefit of the race, that we are subduing more and more the wonderful physical forces that surround us in every part, and we are making them the handmaids and servants of men to do their bidding, to follow their word, to start under their impulse, to stop at their command; and we realize that vaster sums of capital than our fathers ever dreamed of are necessary not only to develop still further these wonderful things we perceive about us, but to maintain the very system of industry which is now a part of our life.

We have builded up a great framework of material and moral civilization. It is our part, not only to add to it, but to keep strong and firm the pillars that support its foundations, and we realize, gentlemen, men of your type, men of mine, that there is absolutely no security for material institutions, except they be based upon sound moral principles; that neither in business nor in government is there success for individuals or for collective effort unless it be founded upon the acceptance of certain fixed, ineradicable, inalienable natural moral truths, for one thing is not true in morals and false in physical fact. There is a perfect complement between truth in every department of human activity. What is true in physics is not less true than that which is true in morals and in mind. You cannot have a thing true in industry and have it false under the Decalogue, because the whole motion of human progress rests upon the impulses of original moral principles. If you glance over the nations of the earth you find that they all started from a common stock, have achieved various goals, and represent various phases of civilization, various industrial activities, various commercial successes or failures, various forms of government, various valuations of the human individual; and we see one nation standing practically where it was when the creating word fell from the lips of the Almighty; another, half-way on the pathway of what we fix as the standard of modern progress; and we find still another nation is moving hand in hand with morals and industries side by side, developing the material forces of their national life, upholding and straining to uphold still higher the ideals of civil government under which that commercial progress is being made.

There must be something other than native ability that makes the Turk a failure, the Chinaman a huge, isolated, local, insulated spectacle of civilization that seems to have never started and never reached anywhere; that makes the American, the Englishman, the Canadian, the Frenchman and the German, the men of what we may say, if not common blood, at least of common ideas, the rulers of the world. It is not physical energy that brought us there. The Chinaman, whose civilization you smile at, had a refinement of mind, a delicate power of finger, a subtlety of construction, equalled only by the Moor and the Turk and some of the so-called barbaric races; and yet with his mental refinement, with his mental dexterity, with his power to produce a handiwork that the most skilled artisans of England or the United States cannot equal, he has stood on a rock while the current of civilization has flowed past him, untouched by contact with this stream, unmoved by the rapid flow of its movement, learning nothing from what he saw reflected there. Is he physically our inferior? Is he mentally our subordinate? The Chinaman had a civilized system, viewed from a material standpoint, when your fathers and mine were shirtless barbarians in the forests of Germany; but, gentlemen, he never had what we have to-day—a moral code that fixed the valuation of a human being, and made individual liberty and individual opportunity the stepping-stones of progress and the elementary standards by which the advance of a people was to be measured. He had mentality, he had physical dexterity, he had principles, he had wealth, power; but he never had moral principles such as have been the stimulus of the English-speaking races.

The difference between us then has been moral, not mental, unless it be a difference of mind. When the

Chinaman fell he fell to rise no more, like the Moor and the Turk. He had no moral immortality that overcame the waves of war, the crashing advances of barbaric power, the trampling feet of savage horsemen; he did not have within himself that which has lifted a Christian people from the ruins and the wreck of savage waves of demolishing barbarism up to the rebuilded pinnacles of a higher progress than had ever been destroyed. The civilization of Europe crumbled under the steel-clad feet of the barbarian's war-horse; in the wreck of its cities fell the literature and the art and the handicraft, and all the compiled and accumulated treasures of centuries of Roman and Grecian and Italian civilization. But while they could destroy his cities, while they could tear down his temples, while they could burn his libraries, they could not take from him that which was in his immortal soul—the thought that made him what he was, the moral standard that was the foundation of his movement, and that could lift him from obstacle to obstacle, from out of wreck and ruin. They could not take from him that which was distinctly European, although they could destroy all the physical evidences of his progress.

Then, gentlemen, if the differences between one civilization and another are largely moral in their root, in the impulse which they give to the industrial systems, as well as the refinements of mental progress, does it not seem to us that the things that those who would preserve an Empire must guard, the things that those who would preserve a republic must protect, are the moral principles that are the dynamic forces of their existence—that, in a nutshell, are the soul of a nation's life? If we believe in that as a root principle, then, gentlemen, the guarding of an Empire does not mean the maintenance of armies merely because they represent force, the accumulation of wealth because it represents power, but it does mean the continuous accretion of a moral treasury; it does mean a continuous emphasis to its citizens of the fact that the things that lie at the roots and foundation of their success are not mere physical prosperity, are not mere superficial evidences of material advancement; they are the protection of the root things upon which that advancement is predicated and without which it would be impossible.

The moral things that we hold in civil government were not easily obtained. They were not the gifts of a Creator which came to us with a miraculous transfusion of light that gave to each individual man that perceived them the knowledge that they were the most sacred things the Almighty could grant. They are things that the human race has learned to value by the struggle through which they went to get them, a struggle that has been marked upon every footstep of its progress with the blood of martyrs as the seed of civilization; a progress that has had to have its gallows, its stake, its prison, that men might learn by the suffering of others the value of the things which they won for them. And the power of England and the United States to-day does not lie in armies, nor in ships of steel, but in the omnipotence of their civilization and omnipresence of their principles. There must always be lands we cannot own, kingdoms we cannot subordinate, islands we cannot control, continents that we cannot make tributary provinces; but there is not a land upon the face of this earth, nor a nation before which our flags can float, that we cannot make allies on our side, tributaries beneath our banner, followers in the progress of our power, by the magic words "Be free."

Now institutions that possess a principle like that are things worth guarding, but they are institutions, gentlemen, that are the most easy subjects of corroding influences. They are not easily attacked from without, because the enemy from without finds a united front in a people who perceive an alien foe. The glint of weapons in the distance, the flash of cannon in the sun, the word of defiance, of insult, of attack, rouse a people to a common sense of collective wrong. But it is the foe working in your midst, insidiously striving to undermine the institutions that are the support of all the things upon which your civilization rests—the ignorant, who, by lifting a sluice-gate, might give Holland to the sea; the charlatan, who, to advance himself, may tamper with the pillars of your temple; the weak, short-sighted coward in political life that, for his personal advancement, will sacrifice the very principles of the Government whose servant he is; the citizen in every branch of life who does not realize that he is not only a manufacturer, nor an employer, nor an employee, nor a workingman, nor a working-woman, nor a capitalist, rich or poor, low or high, but is before all these things a citizen, and that the success of the industry in which he is engaged depends not merely on his citizenship, but on the citizenship of every man engaged in industry with him.

The common principles that he accepts as a citizen are at once his shield and his sword. They are his safeguard; they are the principles that move him along the way of advancement to profit and to power and to influence. And the difficulty in our day and in your country and in mine is the failure of all classes of citizens to perceive their common interest in the Empire or the Republic; who cannot take to themselves with an analogy the words of the Redeemer himself, " Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven, and all things else shall come after." Seek first the principles of the Empire's life; seek first the principles upon which her success is based; seek first the things that have lifted her out of feudalism and barbarism into civilization. Then all things come to her people in every department of her life.

Now those principles have been the subject of attack in every age and every hour, sometimes by the unscrupulous, sometimes by the ambitious, sometimes by the thoughtless, sometimes by the ignorant, sometimes by the deluded. And, gentlemen, there is nothing in a community that can give it so much cause for alarm as a good man moving under the impulse of bad principles. He is the most dangerous factor in the life of a nation. If he is a bad character, if he lack virtue, if he lack sincerity, if he lack any of those qualities that men esteem, and it is known, he carries with him in his own person something that discounts his utterance. But when he is a man whose private life is irreproachable, whose public conduct always seems commendable, if he is under the impulse of the wrong kind of a principle, he becomes the most dangerous factor in the community, because his private virtue wins followers for his public error.

Now this thing is true, gentlemen, not merely of political parties, but it is true of those things which are every day with us, in the every-day life of our nations. The time comes when nations need men to die for them, and those occasions are rare; but the time is always at hand when they need men to live for them; and that is now. It, of course, takes courage, under the waving flag of your country, with the flashing steel of your fellow-citizens by your side, with the commands of your general ringing in your ears, and all the pageantry and pomp of war, to lead a man into the magnificence of that patriotic enthusiasm that gives life as a privilege rather than an offering; but in the quiet of your every-day life, at your desk, in the street, in the councils of your fellow-men, and the daily attitude of your private life, and of all those relations that make up the humdrum of every-day existence, it takes more moral courage to do the right thing that may be the subject of public comment, than it does to give your life upon the battlefield under the ensanguined flag of your country. Nations are not builded by war, but by peace. The struggles that count are the struggles of daily civilized life.

So it happens, too, that the least of a country's foes come from without. Her most serious objects of consideration when she is what we are, nations that represent democratic institutions builded upon the value of the individual human being, those are the institutions that are always threatened from within, corrupted, weakened by the most insidious and sometimes by the most difficult of attacks to discern and perceive. But if each citizen only holds firmly to a few simple principles, the ones upon which his nation is predicated, he has in his hand the sword that guards her against every enemy. He has a decalogue by which he is able to measure the standard of every act proposed for his approval or disapproval. If he stands upon his rights, if, in the language of Herbert Spencer, commenting on the American Republic, " democratic institutions can be successfully worked only by men who are jealous of their own rights and sympathetically jealous of the rights of others, who will neither aggress upon others in great things or small, not permit others to aggress upon them," then that is the framework of progressive institutions everywhere.

In an age of organization it is but natural that there should come in their progress collisions between the organizations of men within the State and the State itself. The natural result of accumulation of power is a temptation to misuse it. That is true on account of the very nature of the human being himself, and it is a fact that is confirmed by every observation of history. It brought Napoleon tumbling from a throne at the height of his power, and has ruined more men and more women, caused wreck and injury to more kingdoms and more states, than all the other temptations, probably, to which individual rulers have been subject. It is natural that the corporation accumulating influence and power and money should be tempted, for its own advantage, to use, when it finds its way blocked, the very thing that has accumulated, to secure direct contact with the things for which it seeks. It is but natural that organizations of men, on the other hand, engaged in protecting and selling their labour, should be tempted, with sudden accretions of power, with the rise of strength of which they never dreamed, with the acceptance and recognition of an influence which they never imagined they would wield, with the kow-towing of politicians, with the bending of public backs, with the accepted recognition of a minority of the community organized as representative of the majority of the community unorganized, should meet the temptation to misuse and abuse the power that comes to them for their protection alone; and it is against just those misuses and abuses as being one of the most insidious and dangerous weapons which can be turned against representative institutions, that I would especially warn you.

I say so out of no unkindness to organized labour. I say it out of no lack of respect to those advantages which civilization possesses, because of the splendid leadership and the daring boldness of organized capital, which risked much to gain for itself, and, in so gaining, to give benefit to many. The whole difficulty with which we are face to face to-day is to demand of the organizations of either capital or labour that they shall measure themselves and be obligated by the very thing which we demand of individuals; that is, that they shall exercise no power without some corresponding responsibility.

Irresponsible wealth would be the most dangerous weapon that could be turned against a representative democracy. Irresponsible power would be the most serious thing that could be placed in the hands of an organization of workingmen. Keep the two within the limit of this law, measured by the decalogue of your representative institutions; keep their men measured by the moral law that you have set up as the foundations of your government; insist that when they attempt to exercise power they shall also assume corresponding responsibility, and realize that there cannot be inside of the State any organization of men that is not subordinate to the State in every stage of its progress and of your progress. I honestly believe, gentlemen, that considering the activity of the two phases of organization to which I call your attention, and which are the great features of industrial life in our day, pressing them to an acknowledged acceptance and action within the limits of responsibility and law, making them realize that there can be no government unless there is obedience and no civil institutions without recognition of those elementary principles that are at the basis of civil institutions, allowing that as the standard, making the rich man bow to it as you make the poor man acknowledge it, you have set up for yourselves a principle that in industry, in business, in morals, in every department of the various activities in your nation and in mine will be a safeguard which can wrap itself forever about the institutions we revere and that can alone insure their successful perpetuation.

RAILWAYS AND GRADE CROSSINGS.

Address by MR. JOHN A. EWAN, of the Toronto *Globe*, before the Empire Club of Canada, on October 3rd, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

There is one point I would like to make in the beginning. We sometimes think that our neighbours in the United States are somewhat careless of human life. We hear of how readily they pull a gun to extinguish an opponent, and we in Canada think that human life over there is a negligible quantity. But I must say that from my reading of United States papers, and from my own observations and from the tone of civilization, I believe that the people of the United States do consider it a high crime and misdemeanour when a corporate body like a railway extinguishes a human life. I think that an accident like that which occurred at Bay Street a few months ago would have created a more permanent impression in an American city of the same size than it did here. The same thing happened not so very long ago when a locomotive plunged into a street car at the Queen Street crossing, and killed and injured a number of people. It was only a two or three days' wonder, and now I suppose the people are trying to recover money from those responsible for the killing of their friends. We do not take that sort of thing as deeply as in the United States. I found there, everywhere through the Eastern States, that the general opinion was that a grade crossing is a barbarism, more especially when high speed is the rule of the railways and where trains are passing very frequently all day long. That it is a problem the railways themselves admit by offering to aid us in carrying Yonge Street across the tracks.

In anything I have to say I am not going to adopt a spirit of senseless hostility to the railways. There is no body of men willing to spend money for that from which they see no return. It is quite natural that railways should oppose a movement of this kind, but our view is a wholly different one, and we ought to lay down the principle that we are going to cease killing people on railway crossings in the city. But where is the money to come from? Well, where does all their money come from? It comes from us. I am going to show you where railways have spent immense sums of money in extinguishing these grade crossings, in many cases most willingly. Massachusetts leads the American Union in that respect. Its Legislature passed a law some years ago that in the extinguishment of any grade crossing the State would pay 25 per cent. of the cost, the railway 65 per cent., and the municipality 10 per cent. And under that law the State of Massachusetts has already paid out over $7,000,000 of State money, which, as you can see, would mean a large proportion for the railway and a small one for the municipality. Boston has paid out $1,800,000 in the extinguishment of numerous dangerous grade crossings in that city. They have a great deal of inter-crossing of railways and inter-crossing of elevated street railways and the problems of the river have necessitated enormous bridges. One bridge cost $1,800,000 alone; so that you see they have problems there to which our little problem is a mere flea-bite.

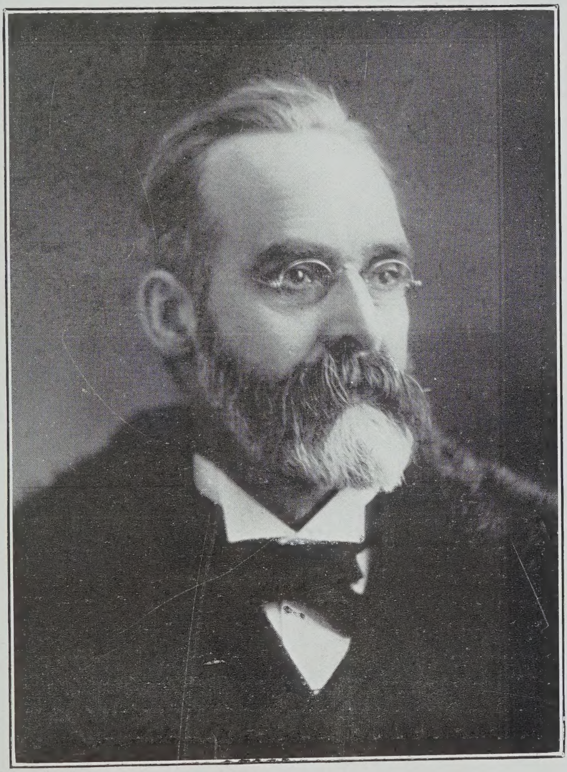
In the State of New York they are a little behind Massachusetts, but are following fast on her trail. It was Mr. Kennedy, the Secretary of the Public Utilities Committee, who said to me that "a grade crossing is a barbarism that no civilized state should permit." In that State they make a yearly appropriation. They began with $100,000. It now amounts to $300,000 a year—that pays one-quarter of the cost of the extinguishing of any grade crossings. The railway pays one-half, the State one-quarter, and the municipality interested one-quarter. In Connecticut they have not the same laws, but they have the same aid. There they have a general rule that every railway operating in the State must eliminate a grade crossing on its line for every sixty miles of railway every year. But as a matter of fact the railways (and of course in that case they pay the whole cost, the State pays no part of the cost, nor does the municipality) have, of their own voluntary operation, far exceeded the statutory limit. Formerly the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railway ran right through the city of Bridgeport. Now there is not a grade crossing within the limits of that city. The railway runs clean across the city on a viaduct.

We next come to Pennsylvania. It has no State legislation on the subject, but that great transportation body, the Pennsylvania Railway, has set a pace of its own, and if you travel, as many of you have, from New York to Philadelphia, you will pass over a railway which, with very few exceptions, passes no highway at grade. It passes such towns as Jersey City, Newark, Trenton and other places, and in every case, by a viaduct or whatever engineering device suggests itself to the railway engineers. It passes the highways with a separation of grade, and almost invariably you will find it is the railway above the highway, not the highway above the railway, because in the one case you have to have at least twenty-two feet and in the other twelve, thirteen or fourteen feet is enough. Before I leave Pennsylvania I will say that in the cases of Jersey City, Newark and Trenton, as far as I could gather, the railways had borne the whole cost of elevating their tracks. In Philadelphia, where it was an enormous problem, and where immense expenditures have been made, the city and railway did it by negotiation, and the city has up to date paid almost half the cost of the elevation of the railways. But I may say before leaving these States, that there is not one of the States I have mentioned where a new railway can build a line crossing a highway at grade. The Engineer of the Pennsylvania Railway told me they had just built a railway ninety-six miles long to carry nothing but heavy freight, and that in no case did it pass a highway at a grade.

Chicago is the classic example of a community making railways do the right thing. I suppose a score or more of separate roads enter Chicago. They cross each other at all sorts of angles and grades, and it was an immense problem. No legislation could be got from the State Legislature. Somebody has said the Legislature was the Board of Directors of the railways. But the city of Chicago itself, under the leadership practically of one man, named John O'Neill, conceived the idea that the railways ought to elevate their tracks and cease killing people; and he held public meetings, roused public sentiment on the subject, and the railways simply had to bow to the power of public opinion and nothing else. No other power caused the railways to raise their tracks except aroused public opinion. The result has been that $40,000,000 has been expended in that city by the railways; not one cent by the municipality.

You will see there are a variety of ways; sometimes a municipality pays something, sometimes nothing. We, of course, would prefer the latter way. I have already remarked that the work here is comparatively simple—simple compared with any other city I have been in, because the railways come in on both sides, and scarcely any of them cross one another. So that we have not the three-deckers, as you will see in Chicage, or Philadelphia, or any of the other cities where railways cross each other. Another point is, you will observe that the States in many of these cases have done something. The idea has occurred to me whether the rich Province of Ontario could not do something, not to eliminate crossings in Toronto particularly, but to begin a policy of the elimination of grade crossings all over the Province.

Our City Council has taken action, as you all know. I am not so sure that they have not gone farther than was absolutely necessary. If we make a beginning with our work, if we commence by making the waterfront from Church to York Street, including both those streets, absolutely free from railway tracks, we will be making a big beginning, and when the problem presses at other parts we can go on with the work. I am not disposed to criticise the Council. I hope that to whatever extent they may go they will be persevering about the thing, and from all I know the matter has now got into the hands of the City Solicitor's Department, and I have a good deal of faith in that department where there is much enthusiasm for our viaduct and for the elimination of grade crossings. This is a fortunate thing because there has been a good deal of divided sentiment, and if we went before the Railway Commission with a divided view we could make a very poor case out of it. I shall not occupy your time any more, gentlemen. I would say this to the railways, however, that from this time forth every murder at a grade crossing will arouse an immense public opinion in this town. We have got to believe that they are not necessary, that they should be abolished, and we will never rest until this is done.



THE REV. DR. C. S. EBY,
of Toronto, Ont.

THE TRUE INWARDNESS OF THE YELLOW PERIL.

Address by the REV. C. S. EBY, B.A., D.D., of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on October 10th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

A little while ago Mr. Hamar Greenwood spoke to you and I was delighted to hear him bring out one point with regard to the danger of provincial narrowness and shortsightedness—a policy that is likely to bring about embarrassment to the Empire and contribute to the possibility of Imperial complications. Complications with regard to Japan he was most afraid of, and in that he spoke truly, but when he referred to the Hindu as accustomed to being suppressed, and to the Chinaman as a patient dog, accustomed to being kicked, and both of whom might be ignored, he showed an utter want of knowledge of a whole hemisphere of facts which all ought to know, but which have not yet been burned into history and into men's souls by a bloody war. Japan is one factor in a very much greater whole, but the fate of the white race, and the trend of the era upon which we are now entering depends on what the Chinaman will do, and it is more than possible that the brown races will have a part in the coming struggle and in the making of coming history. It is not safe to ignore or insult any man on account of the tint of his skin or the difference of his customs from ours. We blame the parochial idea that is confined to a municipality; we blame the provincial who is confined to his province; we blame a Canadian, who is Canadian and nothing more. We must get to the larger Imperial idea, and even there, if we confine ourselves to our own Empire and consider our patriotism as hatred of the nations outside, or evolve any kind of a tinge to our thought that would lead us to be unfair to the other nations, we narrow ourselves as well. We have to look at the whole question from the larger standpoint of humanity. There is a yellow peril on the horizon, but of a character entirely different from that imagined by trades unions whose world is largely confined to wages and work or a war of labour and capital, and equally different from the fears of the provincial politician, but patent to the statesman of world-wide outlook.

I would like, if I had time, to note the stream of paragraphs and telegrams and interviews which have recently been given in the newspapers, and point out the grains of truth with the shiploads of chaff, but it would consume too much time. One thing let me emphasize, and that is that the constantly repeated assertion that the Oriental has come here with the idea of over-running or appropriating this land in any sense whatever, and taking it out of the white man's hands, is a pure nightmare, and nothing else, without a ghost of foundation. It is a national conscience, an uneasy conscience, which makes cowards of us all. We think that because we white men are robbers of continents, after subjugating and decimating and destroying populations before us, therefore every other race, if it has the chance, is going to do the same. There is a yellow peril, very ominous, imminent and entirely of the white man's creating; a gathering storm which when it bursts, if it comes to what it threatens at this hour, will cripple the white race for centuries, if not forever, and make London as Ninevah and Tyre; or the white race will survive in a victory only a shade less lawful in results than in defeat; or a miracle will happen to prevent the conflict—" a miraculous spread of Christianity," as Sir Robert Hart puts it.

Let me sketch the situation. The human races are, roughly speaking divided, like all Gaul that we used to read about many years ago, into three parties. First there are the uncivilized races, including the blacks of Africa, the tinted peoples on the Pacific Islands, the red man of America and other aboriginies scattered everywhere. The second is the civilized, non-Christian races, including the yellow races of Eastern Asia, the brown races of India, and shades of skin and of thought in Western Asia. Thirdly, there are the civilized and so-called Christian races, principally white, and foremost among them the Anglo-Saxons, whose energy and strength would dominate the world; whose energy, if harnessed to righteousness, could recreate this world, but, harnessed to militarism, has turned it in a different direction.

The problem to-day is not with the uncivilized child races, but with the second class. The central figure in the civilized, but non-Christian world is China. Long before the pyramids were built, two thousand two hundred and fifty years before Christ, there was a tribe of men stretched along the Yang-Tsi Valley. Their wise men put their thought into literature. While writing was in its ideographic state of evolution, untouched by syllabic or alphabetic evolution elsewhere, they had perfected one of the most elaborate vehicles of literature capable of expressing all developments, all forms of human thought. They worked quietly, or energetically at times, while Babylon exhausted her four thousand years of tutorship of Western Asia, while Egypt and Assyria rose and fell, while Persia came and went, while Greece developed in her pent-up Utica and burst forth as schoolmaster of the world, while Rome fell heir to all preceding greatness, and with Greek culture as mistress, proceeded to organize a world. Chinese porcelain is found amid the ruins of Egypt. She has developed steadily from that day to this a civilization of her own, dominated by an ethical code put into permanent shape by Confucius five centuries before Christ, founded on filial obedience, aiming at producing a cultured gentleman as an ideal man on the one hand, and a state that would rule by righteousness and helpfulness on the other. Her ethics centered in one great law, "Don't do to anybody else what you do not want the other man to do to you."

If ever the Chinaman was aggressive he got over it many centuries ago, but as he sat and worked in his beloved land his people grew into millions, tens, hundreds of millions. Neighbouring nations were attracted and moulded into this central power. Conquerors from Mongolia and other places changed the Dynasty, but were soon digested into good Chinese. China quietly conquered them by the simple force of her thought, her higher civilization, until she swayed the destinies of all peoples on the Eastern side of the continent. Power, politically, centered in an Emperor, nominally despotic but largely a figurehead; the people ruling themselves in a free democracy; the outside nations held by the loosest of bonds politically, but welded into one subtler, stronger union by ties of a common intellectual life—one teacher; one language of learning; one ethic and one ideal; one centre of dignified and helpful government. A form of government founded on learning and the moral law that persists through 5,000 years, on a philosophy that will hold together the varied elements of 400,000,000 of human beings along a line of intense study, and hold its own and develop a high type of moral and popular control for century after century, must contain some stronger forms of truth, adapted to human nature, than even Christendom has yet learned.

In this development that has gone on to the present day, though with the disadvantages of not having certain other elements that are required to make the nation complete, you have as a basis of wondrous power some points in which the yellow man excels the white man. The first is the power of organization; second, the power of creating great public works (the greatest wall built on the planet, the greatest canal to be found in the world, are in China); third, the ingenuity to produce great results with meagre tools and inadequate means—you know what that meant with the Japanese; fourth, perseverance—industry and frugality unbounded; fifth, respect for age and authority, the ease with which they are controlled when they have confidence in the leader; sixth: gratitude for favours and unswerving loyalty whenever kindliness and consideration have won his heart. Every element of manhood is in that people and they are ready to be further developed into anything that humanity has ever yet accomplished or ever will accomplish. Remember that all the greatness of China has not vanished like that of Ninevah and Tyre, and the long list of dead and buried Asiatic Empires and some moribund European nations of to-day. They are as numerous as they ever were, as virile, when they once wake up, to-day as they ever were in the long history of all the peoples that have gone before and vanished. The fact of the matter is, however, that Europe struck upon China when she was having a nap of a century or two, when she had got to an age when all the world that she knew was at peace with her. She was resting on her oars, and the oncoming of the white world was like a thunderbolt out of an absolutely unknown sphere.

One characteristic must again be kept in mind, and this is just interlarded here. The Chinaman is the slowest of mortals under compulsion and until he gets to see the point, but after he sees and is free to act, he is the swiftest in execution of any being on the face of the earth. Take, for instance, the long time before the telegraph was allowed in China. But after they had once started one line, and the Chinaman saw that it was a good thing for China, in an incredibly short time the Empire was simply filled with telegraph lines; and so with everything else. But what has happened to turn her from her career of peace and to start her at last into feverish preparation for war? Though a man of peace for two thousand years, he has all the capabilities of one of the most terrific soldiers on the face of the earth—equal to the Japanese, with added characteristics that the Japanese has not.

Just a rapid glance over the history out of which the problems of to-day were born. Rome and Greece made a success of a military empire, but ran it into ruin. A barbarian wave swept that civilization out of existence, and Europe had to start again to make a new civilization. While Tacitus was writing of Britain as the home of sea-wolves, China was making the same complaint of the wild pirates in Japan, untouched as yet of her civilization. About the time when England began to rise to modern civilization, Chinese influence began a transformation in Japan, and from the sixth century for 1,200 years China was the intellectual master and the political teacher of Japan. England passed through certain vicissitudes, until in the sixteenth century she began a career of expansion. The Great Britain of the Pacific passed through similar vicissitudes and internal commotion in the sixteenth century, then suddenly snapped her shell and retired from contact with the outside world, because the white man had apparently intimated that he was going to bring the Japanese under the Pope and Europe. Just as soon as the loyalty of the Japanese to the Emperor was threatened, the thing had to stop. In order to save herself from the white man's touch and the white man's religion, she hermetically sealed herself up for 250 years. For that period Japan was saved from spoliation and the immoral influence of European trade.

China during this period was afraid of the white man but could not close her gates. China was not opposed to progress. She admitted all the nations round about her—the Jesuits and the Christians that came with peaceful motives at first—and she would have continued to welcome the white man if he had come as a neighbour and a friend, and left his armaments at home. But the first touch with the white man and the continuous experience of two centuries was that of perpetual attack from pirates, buccaneers and slavers. China was absolutely ignorant of the outside white world, shut into her Asiatic land, and having no desire but to be at perfect peace within her own borders, and at peace with the whole world. She had almost lost her power of defence against an aggravated assault and did not know how to meet the white man and his aggression, nor the awful influence of the opium traffic which followed—greatly to Britain's disgrace.

One word more about Japan. The Japanese, a little nation of forty million, woke up at last to find that after two hundred and fifty years of seclusion she was only a little piece in the whole. She saw the map of the world and learned the tremendous influence the little Island Empire of Great Britain had in history. She said, "We will be the Great Britain of the Pacific." Looking over the situation, she soon saw perfectly well what was going on in China, and the meaning of the coming of the Russian, until Russia was within fifty miles of her border. Then she let loose her thunderbolt, and Russia was driven back by a little land that had been until so lately in seclusion. Though Oriental, the Japanese was a developed man; he had been educated in thought for a thousand years. Japan was just at the feudal state of development; it was easy to cast aside the old weapons and apply the military advantages of all the science of the West. The result is that Japan is to-day one of the first nations of the world in military power, and Japan has the statesmanship to look out over the yellow race and say: "This yellow race, loosely related but filling all Eastern Asia, must become consolidated into one great whole, and it must be mobilized and equipped with all the science of the West, ready for peace or for war with the Western world." The first thing she had to do was to give China a thrashing to wake her up. She was still more waked up by the continual effort of the white man to gain a larger and ever larger hold and to get a larger and larger amount of gold out of her for every pound of dross that he gave. At last China has taken the thing into her own hands, thoroughly alert since the Boxer movement and the Russo-Japan war, and during the last two years has absolutely transformed the whole method along which she has been working.

Everything that the West can give China is taking on; has changed so as to equip herself for self-defence, and then for revenge if necessary. She has changed more in two years than in two thousand years before. As I said, China can move fast when she begins; she is now doing more in one year than Japan did in five, and is rapidly preparing for a time when 400,000,000 of yellow men will become consolidated. Out of 60,000,000 of men who are of military age you will before many years have at least 10,000,000 equipped and trained and ready to face the world. And if Japan could throw half a million men into the mainland and drive Russia back, what will you do when five million or ten million men are ready to march into the field—one million to Siberia, one million to Europe, one million into India, and a million or more ready to face our country, if they have the ships to cross the ocean, and they will have a mighty navy in time? What will you do if, at the same time, the brown man has brought to ripeness what is working as a ferment under the surface, and is looking towards "India for the Indians"; and if the black man, who is already saying "Africa for the black man," and is looking to self-defence and something more; and if the Mohammedan rises up against the Christian? The white man will be at enormous disadvantage, scattered as he is over the world, and China will have an enormous advantage in the solid centre on which she stands. Few of us are aware, perhaps, that when Science opens the soil of China, there are mines of the very best coal in the world, and right beside them the very best iron ore, enough to supply the whole planet for a thousand years. All it needs is science and workmen—and they have the workmen by the million—in order to develop these untouched resources and turn the whole country into one great arsenal of war, to revenge the insult, the abuse and the destructive influences of a hundred years of treatment of which the white man ought to be ashamed.

The thing that will hasten it and render it absolute will be the perpetual nagging of anti-Asiatic legislation and newspaper demands for a "white country." Anything that hints at the inferiority of the yellow race cuts them to the quick, and will only meet with insult and force from their side; while, on the other hand, kindliness and the recognition of them as brothers and as gentlemen will get for us everything we ask in justice and turn them into friends. China has never refused a thing that has been asked in a proper spirit. Japan will not refuse to arrange her legislation to control the incoming of Japanese if we find it inconvenient, and ask them in the proper form. You think sometimes the Chinaman is a stolid, careless man, who can take a kick and go ahead and not mind it.

He has been taught for two thousand years that one of the marks of a gentleman is not to show his feelings, but to hide them behind exterior calm. Remember that behind that stolid face there is a sensitive heart, as sensitive as that which beats under any white skin in the world. The Chinaman of the laundry is not the ruling element. The real Chinaman, gently nurtured, having much of the cultured gentleman, hides behind that stolid face a heart that is aching for sympathy. Every insult that we offer and every throb of pain resulting from unnecessary harshness, is adding to the feeling in China and Japan that is accumulating into hatred and contempt, and into a revenge that will eventually come unless we can do something to stop it, and that is the miracle to which I have already referred.

There is one way, and only one way, whereby this imminent and terrific struggle can be averted, and that is just simply to go back of our Imperial idea into the larger humanity and into the law that lies at the basis of our ethics, but which we have absolutely trampled under foot. The Chinese law was, " Do not do to anybody what you do not want them to do to you," and they sat down and let the world come to them, and they gave them their blessing. We have been made on aggressive lines. " Go forward " is the white man's nature, and it is right. We were made for it,, and at a particular time we were entrusted with science and knowledge and invention, discovery and machinery, that bound the world together and sent our traders all over it. If we had only gone forth with that higher law of doing right toward others, and giving to the others what you want to have yourself, we could to-day have had a new world, instead of a world thus cursed. The only cure to-day is for us to get back to the central law of doing something to help these struggling people, and give them to understand that, aside from the white buccaneers and robbers in one form or another, we want to bring them to believe that the white man is an honest man, and is willing to give and take in his touch with human kind.

Let me indicate one thing that might be done. We have in British Columbia a province which is peculiarly difficult to develop. You cannot develop it by the single man, or the single family, as we did in Ontario, or as we do in the great prairie provinces. British Columbia can only be developed either at the hands of the people as a whole, who are able to do work on an enormous scale, or by an immense corporation, or a multitude of corporations, that are able to put unlimited capital into the mountains and forests and seas. But the mystery of it is that for fifty years British Columbia has been in the hands of little men. They have actually sat upon it and, as far as they could, have carved it up for themselves. They were once just as opposed to "Canadian Chinamen" as they were to the yellow man. They did not want to have any outsider in there. Now what we want is to get the Province into the hands of the people—public ownership, that will get after these great public treasures for the public benefit. If you are to do that you must have an immense number of labourers that the white world will not produce for the present, nor bring there at all. We could make use of these Orientals for the time being, and give them good employment, and their employment would not take one twenty-five cents out of the hands of the white man, but would put an immense amount of material into their hands for further work and further gain.

The Japanese are out all through Manchuria, with its great unpopulated districts, preparing the way for the masses of her people to go in there, and in a little while they will go in tens of hundreds of thousands. Then in hinter-China there are depopulated districts that, with a little help from skillful white men, could be turned into splendid areas for farming, into which millions of Chinese could move out of the congested parts. The resources under the soil that I have spoken of, if we could help them with machinery and skilled men who would go there without the idea of taking everything in sight, would in the end give every Chinaman ample work and living, and leave no call for them to go anywhere else in the world.

China has waked up, and has changed the whole of her old system of examinations. The worship of Confucius has been given to the Emperor, so as to give the people all their time for the new learning. Instead of the old Confucian course of study in the schools, they have brought in the science and the philosophy, all the learning of our West, and they want everything that we have to teach them. They are storming the missionaries to teach their boys—their girls, too—and that is a tremendous advance. They are opening schools in every part of the Empire, and will want teachers in immense numbers; and, best of all, they are wanting books. The translation of our literature into their language is being done by the Japanese, and they are translating it from the materialistic standpoint of the agnostic. What we ought to do, if possible, would be to put a million of money into getting our literature translated into Chinese from the Christian standpoint, and publishing it, so that we could offer it to their schools and the public at a lower rate than they could get it otherwise. That does not mean religious teaching, but the teaching of all knowledge in the light of the noblest ethics and philosophy of life. Nothing would do so much to keep the hatred out and bring the kindness back again. In developing their resources they need scientific men, men skilled in modern appliances, in machinery, in mining, in telegraphy and railroading, and all lines of practical development. There is need of men who are in touch with the Chinese and the white man as well, to open a way carefully, wisely, so that the Chinese would understand that in this new effort amongst them there was not some new dodge out of which to drag their money, or some new method to introduce a religious dogma; then we would be able to accomplish immensities. That is the kind of missionary work that we have to undertake in order to avoid the "yellow peril."

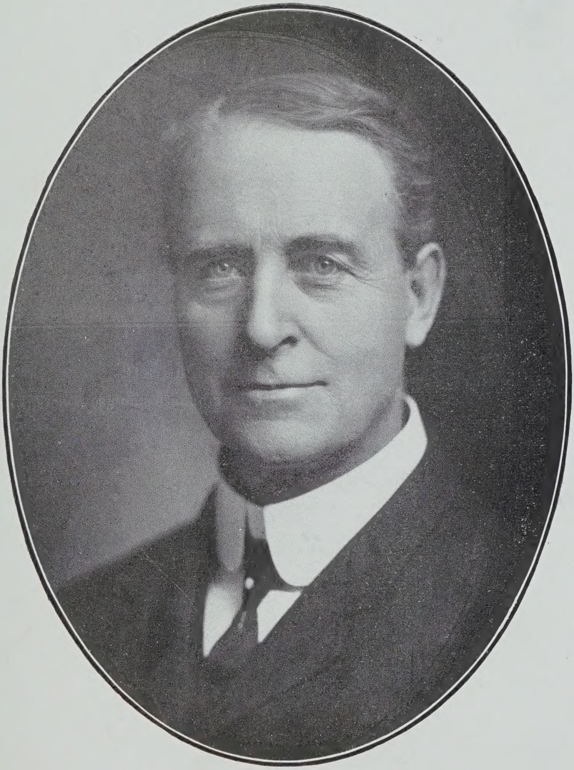
MODERN EDUCATIONAL METHODS.

Address delivered by MR. JAMES L. HUGHES, Inspector of Public Schools, Toronto, before the Empire Club, on the 17th of October, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I think one of the greatest gifts that America gave to the world was the National School System—free national education. It has long been recognized as the proper thing for the lawyers and doctors, and for the ministers, and later for teachers and engineers, to continue their education after they leave the public or elementary schools. The state has learned that it is wise to aid these men in getting an education in order that they may be able more effectively to do their work of leadership in the nation. The people of Germany, especially in the City of Munich, have, during the last few years, decided that the lawyers, and the doctors, and the ministers, and the teachers, and the engineers are not the only men who should have advanced education given to them, either wholly or partly, at the expense of the state. They have reached the conclusion that every man who works in any department of trade should have, at the expense of the state, a more thorough training, a more advanced education, and so in the City of Munich every boy who leaves school at fourteen—the age at which our boys are allowed to leave the public schools and go to any department of industrial or business life that they choose—has to continue at a trade school for three afternoons of each week, and for three hours each afternoon, making nine hours a week, and keep that up for four years.

He leaves his workshop, whatever it may be, and goes to receive at one of these public trade schools, supported entirely by the municipality of Munich itself, the scientific basis of the trade he has adopted. And not only the scientific basis, but he really applies scientific knowledge



Mr. James L. Hughes.
Inspector of Public Schools, Toronto.

to the treating of the particular materials he has to use in his trade. If he chooses the iron trade, or any department of it, for his special department of life-work, he is trained in every process of treating iron according to the most modern and scientific ideas. Every process of colouring the steel, for instance, known to science, electrical, scientific or chemical, is revealed to these young men who are to deal with iron. They are trained to use all kinds of iron in all kinds of ways that they are accustomed to use them in their work in any department of trade; and not merely the department in which he himself is working or he has chosen for his life-work, but all that can be taught to the young men during the three afternoons per week of the four years, and on Sunday forenoons if they like to go to the lessons which are given. This is a course which by law follows their public school course, and there is no escape. The boy has no choice in the matter. The state says: You are an element of the state, and for the benefit of the state, as well as for your own individual benefit, we propose to make you the most expert workman that it is possible for us to make of you.

I think there is a great deal of force in the attitude which they are taking. Every working-man should be helped to become the best working-man possible. For the benefit of the state, of course, it is manifest that the more scientific be the training of the working-man, and the more thorough the practical application of the science, the greater is the efficiency of these men in adding to the wealth of the country, because the wealth of a manufacturing country, as we are not, is largely produced by taking the inexpensive raw material and adding to its value. The trained working-man, trained in the scientific treatment and in all the modern ideas in regard to the most artistic process of treating the iron, or wood, or leather, or whatever it may be, or adding most to the raw material, is the man that gives it not only a utilitarian value but an artistic value, and the German people, I think, are rapidly driving the rest of the peoples out of the market in artistic manufacture. I could see no part of Germany where I could not see factories—and new factories in many parts—all of them working day and night, and yet they can't keep up with the demand for their productions. And so they are preparing to make each individual man the most effective man possible for the state and for his own development, so that he may be worthy of higher wages, and therefore better qualified to add to the culture of his own home and all the agencies of culture which he may bring into his home, and in every sense making him a better private individual, while at the same time qualifying him for the most effective work in adding to the wealth of his country.

We have in our country probably as much undeveloped material as in their country, and surely it is of vast importance that we should, as soon as possible, organize our young men and young women so that they get this training—after they leave the regular school if you like. Educate them in the regular school as far as possible, but after they leave there they should get extra training, scientific training, as the basis of the work they are to do in any department of trade they may adopt or industry they may choose, and at the same time get the training that will make them able to produce the most artistic things possible, in order that the raw material of our own country may not be sent away to other countries to be manufactured, because then we get very little out of the value of our raw material. We in our own country should manufacture, not for our own people alone, but for people all over the world. I believe our people are as intelligent as any others. I believe it gives them a higher consciousness of their value to give them this practical scientific training, and it gives them power to deal with the materials they use intelligently and comprehensively.

Of course, in many other parts of Germany other than Munich they are doing advanced work in trade schools, and very advanced work in their higher technical schools, which are probably the most expensive in the world. They are doing it deliberately to qualify the people to be not only industrious and thrifty, but to produce that which is attractive to a very high degree. Some people are afraid that the working-man would not like to have trade schools introduced into Toronto, or introduced into Ontario, or into Canada, but I am quite confident, if the working-man knew the object of trade schools was to qualify his sons and daughters so that they would be more intelligent working men and women, and be able to add more to their own wealth and the wealth of their own country, he would not regard it in any sense as an infringement on the rights of the working-man, or be afraid that it would fill the country with unqualified working-men, and I believe he would be the warmest supporter of the principle of giving every boy, not merely those who are to be ministers and lawyers and doctors and engineers and teachers, but every boy, the opportunity of obtaining at the expense of the state some additional education to fit him to perform the duties of his life-work.

In England I recently found that during the last thirteen years (it is thirteen years since I was there before) a very great advance had been made in school work. Many very important changes have been made during those thirteen years. The English people have almost entirely got free from the old examination burden and from the old payment by results burden. You know it was the case until only a few years ago that the schools received the amount of Government grant in proportion to the returns made by the Inspector who visited the school. An outside official came and examined every pupil, and reported the standing of every pupil to the Government, and, according to the report that this Inspector gave, the amount of Government grant was increased or reduced, and in England, you possibly all know, the Government grant is a large element in maintaining the schools. The schools are managed very largely from the Central Board in London, and the payments are made to the schools by the Board of Education in London for the whole of England, and the other Board for Scotland and Wales. These payments formed a very large share of the total amount paid for the support of the schools throughout the country. The municipalities do not bear the main part of the support of the schools as they do in this country, so that it was a matter of very great importance to have a very good report for every individual child. That has been done away with as near as I have been able to find, and the people of England are beginning to feel free to teach as they ought to teach, not simply to cram the pupils full of knowledge so that they might pass the examination. They tell a story over there about a local teacher, which serves to illustrate that; I won't vouch for the truth of it. A teacher in London was told that a boy who had been at school in her class had died during the night, and she heaved a sigh, as a sympathetic teacher would, and said, "Oh, well, he wouldn't have passed, anyway." The sadness of the death was reduced considerably.

I think the interest in technical education has developed in England, but the technical schools, magnificent as they are (and I saw several of them in London and Birmingham, and Manchester especially, the mightiest of all the great schools of England), have very few students during the day. The young men who attend them are not compelled to go. It is a matter of voluntary attendance, and the attendance is chiefly at night, when young men are tired. Some people in England objected when I told them about the compulsory attendance at the trade schools of Munich, and said that was rather un-British. I said I think it is rather British, for you compel the children to go to school, you use compulsion with the teachers, you compel every teacher in England in the elementary schools to join the scheme of superannuation —it isn't a matter of choice—and you are very arbitrary in a good many respects, and properly so. If we are to have a national system of schools, the system can be based only on the idea that the system is made national because of the advantage that would come to the nation as a whole. If you force those young fellows in England, who at fourteen years of age go out without any kind of trade and without going into any place where they would learn a trade, and who stay on the streets and sell papers, or some other job of that kind, until they are seventeen and eighteen, and find themselves then without any trade; if you would compel them to go to school, it would certainly be a great advantage to them and the country.

I believe, gentlemen, that the reason we get a poorer type of young man from England than we did twenty years ago is that we are getting those who have not been trained in any trade in the Old Land. In the olden time nearly every boy had to learn some trade or take up some occupation, and matters were entirely different. I find amongst the leaders of England that a good many of them are coming to grapple with that question. The boys who have left the Old Land to a large extent come from towns, and many of them without learning a trade at all of any kind, and when they are eighteen or nineteen there is nothing they can do well—nothing they can do at all up to the standard average intelligence of an Englishman, or a Canadian either, and the people of England are now seeing this to some extent. In fact, two or three members of the Cabinet told me they were going to try to introduce what they call the Charlottenburg system. I tried to get them to introduce the system of Munich and make it broad in its application, and not for the few who voluntarily use it—not for the fellows that are tired out, not for those brave fellows who wish to stay; but I believe the Government of an intelligent nation should know better than a boy of fourteen years of age what is best for him, and should say to that boy, "You must take up a course of training to qualify you for the best expert work in some trade, to make yourself a better individual, and qualify yourself for better work for the nation." I think the intelligence of the boy, and the intelligence of the nation compelling that boy to go to school, would have a very advantageous effect upon his life and character.

The English system expends a great deal of money for technical education, and good results come from it. In their ordinary schools they are away in advance of us in education. They teach art to the students in every department in the training of the boys and girls; but art as applied to the particular district in which they live. The art they teach in Leeds, where the woollen manufacture is the large interest, is not the same art they teach in other parts where woollen manufacture is not the chief interest. While the people of Toronto complain—some of them—that we have one single teacher of art for the whole school system of our city (and there are some people who object to that), I find in Bradford, in a single school, two teachers of art for that school alone. It was one where they had all grades, from the kindergarten to the high school, not a very large attendance, but they regarded the training in art of so vital importance to the people of the city that they give these pupils, both young men and young women, the best artistic training they can. In Edinburgh I found one teacher in a single high school, and in Leeds one, and so on. They pay very much more attention to art, and applied art, than we do in our city. I have pleaded for more here, but some of the people have worked very hard against it, and some of the papers even, and sometimes members of the Board think we should do away with the little we have. We want to train our teachers and our pupils to give our children proper and truer artistic ideals and greater artistic power, and I hope for better results in that direction. England is distinctly ahead of us in that respect.

In the European countries, and especially England—and when I say England I mean England, Scotland and Wales—they are even more in advance of us in regard to the care they take of the physical life of the young people in the schools. They do a great many things we do not do at all. Nearly all the cities have splendid arrangements for training the boys and girls in swimming. Why don't you applaud that? You look as if you had never had a swim yourself. Why, the value of a swim as a physical exercise, to say nothing of the advantage of the health that comes in other respects from swimming, is of immense value. We live, as I heard a gentleman say, beside a lake, one of the finest in the world, and on a bay which used to be clean enough to swim in. I sent out a circular last year to our larger schools to ask how many of the boys from twelve to sixteen in our schools could swim, and we found a very small percentage; indeed, not ten per cent. of our boys in Toronto in the schools can swim, and not five per cent. would claim they could swim one hundred yards. I think that is wrong. That little city of Bradford, smaller than our city, has fourteen public swimming baths, and all the boys and girls of that city are trained to swim in those swimming baths. We have not one yet. I am glad the City Council at the present time is taking action to give us one, but just think of one swimming bath for over 30,000 children! We ought to have more swimming baths in this city, in which the boys and girls could be trained to swim.

In several of the cities the public schools themselves provide the swimming baths. In London, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Nottingham, and Leeds, I saw the boys swim in their own splendid swimming baths under the school, none of them smaller than this room, supplied with water turned on regularly. They have a special trainer, who trains them to swim. I prefer the municipal arrangement rather than have the swimming baths in the basement of the schools. I was glad to find in London, for instance, competitions—champion competitions—for the whole of the city, and I saw the champion boy swimmer of Liverpool swimming in the swimming bath in one of their schools. That is one of the things I think we ought to work for in Toronto, and this club ought to help work to get our city fairly supplied with swimming baths, so that we may train our boys and girls to swim. I would say we should teach them especially to float. We have had so many deaths this summer in our city that need not have occurred at all if the boys had only known how to lie on their backs and float, and they can be trained to float so that they can lie for fifteen hours, just about as easily as one, if they have the proper training. I speak of that as a mere life-saving device, but I am not advocating it simply or chiefly for life-saving. I think it is one of the most splendid exercises for the development of the lungs and chest, and I think it is also a very excellent habit to give to the boys and girls in our city, many of whom have not a bath-tub at home, and many of whom, according to their mothers' statements, throw on a light undershirt, and then a little heavier one, and then another, and keep the same ones on all winter, and then gradually peel them off when the springtime comes. We are getting thousands of boys every year from Russia and Austria and Bavaria, and recently from Macedonia; thousands of these boys, who have not been trained in habits of health and exercise, and I think we might profitably follow the Old Land in the splendid attention it has given to swimming.

Then they have, of course, in their schools a great deal of physical culture. They have special teachers for physical culture in all the cities which I visited—special teachers for physical culture to train the young people, not merely how to stand and how to move—and that has a great deal to do in developing the character—but to develop their vital organs, the heart and lungs especially, to the fullest degree, and make them capable of sustaining the strain their life may call upon them to sustain. I asked the Board of Education here to appoint a special physical instructor, and it was thrown out, and I think no paper in the city gave any help in getting it. I found in Germany, as well as in England, that this was practically universal. These things that I speak of may not appeal to some as educational questions, but I think, gentlemen, you will agree that the time is past when the mere storing of the mind with Grammar, Arithmetic, History, or anything else of that kind, should be regarded as the main essential element in the education of a child. They are very good, but surely no culture can take the place of the development of the executive powers and general forces of the child. Modern education is paying a great deal more attention to the training of the child so that he has the initiative power and the transforming power and achieving tendency fostered more than the old ideals, and physical culture is one of the distinct elements in this training.

Another department of physical culture in which we are a little ahead of them is in play-grounds. I think Toronto has no reason to be ashamed at the present of her rank with the other countries of the world in regard to play and play-grounds. We are not ideal. I think we ought to be dissatisfied with what we have. But we have in connection with our public schools a better organization in this regard than I think any city of the world of our size. In England and in Germany they are making very rapid strides, however. Over five hundred public play-grounds have been opened in Germany in the last fourteen years and they are still opening them up very rapidly. We are going to do much more in that way, I am glad to say. I shall not mention the name, but one distinguished gentleman in this city recently offered me $30,000 to buy a fine play-ground, and I am going to spend the money. When the money is spent you will know who the man is and you will honour him because of his public spirit. In that particular department I think we are fairly ahead, but I found in other departments we were vastly behind.

One of the unique elements in England, especially in England and Wales, was the gardening. About ten years ago the British Government passed a law authorizing School Boards to rent fields for schools in several of the cities, and especially in Norwich, where I saw magnificent gardens. Flower gardens in connection with the schools? Yes, and vegetable gardens as well, where the boys were trained to grow things. There is some peculiar power that comes into the life of a soul when it is trained to grow things. There are fewer criminals in jail of those in this occupation, proportionately, than in any other class of men, even of ministers. The entering into partnership with the power behind that seed—with God, if you like to call it God—the entering into partnership with the Divine in putting that little thing into the ground and producing that plant has a magnificent influence on the life of an individual, and especially of the child who does it. The influence leads him to think, "I didn't make that grow; it never would have grown if I hadn't planted it; God and I made it grow, and God and I may be partners and ought to be partners." Of course there are practical advantages that come from that, too. They rent a large field and the boys and girls have a place assigned to them and they produce beautiful flowers and beautiful vegetables at a time when we would insist on them grinding away at Grammar or History or Literature, or worse than any, Arithmetic, or something of that kind, and those boys and girls who spend that half-day a week in gardening outside make more rapid progress in Grammar, History and Geography than they did before, when they were not allowed to do this gardening. I wish we had a lot of the vacant lots in Toronto where the boys and girls could spend a portion of what we call school-hours, for it would be more productive in the development of their character than many of the other things we do in school.

They are doing vastly more manual training than they were four or five or ten years ago in England or than we do now. There are people yet in Toronto who think it is a fad, but we are going some day to develop it much more than it is in our schools to-day so as to lead up, as a rational basis, for the hard work which is to be done in our technical schools and our trade schools; so that every boy shall have as good an education as the lawyer or the doctor or the minister for his work, whatever that may be. There are many other things that come to a boy of practical worth when he takes up manual training. There is nothing else that develops his own intellectual power more. I might say these manual training classes are excellent for the very, very few boys, I am glad to say, in our city who are defective mentally. I had the pleasure of going with the Chief Inspector and Mrs. Buggin to see those schools in London for the training of mentally-defective children, and I am glad to find we do not have enough of these here to establish one school. That is very satisfactory. They have a great many there for reasons which I don't need to go into now, but with the few of those defective boys we have in our City I am trying to keep them till they are eight or nine in the kindergarten. There are two classes of children that ought to remain till about nine, those who are defective and those who are too keenly bright mentally. Those who are extremely bright should be kept in the kindergarten and not commence the storing of their minds until their minds have been developed properly and until their nervous systems have been toned up or down, as the case may be, and brought more in harmony with the physical. When their physical health has been brought up to the mental health then they may leave the kindergarten. I keep those very defective boys in the kindergarten until they are nine and then send them to our manual classes, and the best doctors in the City heartily approve of it as a process of trying to make and strengthen what little they have rather than storing the brain with, for them, useless knowledge.

In Bristol at the girls' school, here corresponding to any one of our advanced girls' schools, they have a cottage rented near the school, in which every girl spends two weeks of her last year, and she stays there also at nights—not two weeks consecutively, but she has to take two weeks in that cottage, doing the work of that cottage and attending to every room, which should be, in an ideal cottage, not too expensively fitted up. They are trained to perform the various duties from the kitchen to the dining rooms, bedrooms and parlour and all the process. They are trained to do all the cleaning and ventilating, washing and everything in the best possible scientific way. In Bradford I found they had fitted up schools. They had a washing room nearly twice as large as we are in. On the ground floor of the last school I visited there they had all the rooms of a house fitted up with furniture, moderately fitted up, in which the girls spent one hundred hours of their last year in learning all the processes of cleaning clothes of all kinds, and mending clothes of all kinds, and generally dealing with the work that an intelligent house-wife should do in her home. I think our girls would be better trained for their life's work, the great body of them, if they had that work to do in connection with our schools, and I am going to try and get it done. My time is up and I have only touched those departments where I thought I found the Old Country schools most in advance of ours.

CITY OF TORONTO DISPOSAL OF SEWAGE AND WATER FILTRATION.

Address by CHARLES M. SHEARD, M.D., Medical Health Officer of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on October 24th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The subject that we have taken up to-day is, and ought to be, one of supreme and paramount interest to the whole business community of this large City, and it is no new subject; it is a subject which has been discussed at length; it is a subject which has been, off and on, before you for forty years; it is a subject which has been elucidated by reports from the ablest engineers of the world, and from engineers of eminence everywhere upon this continent. Bundles of reports have been made from time to time, which have been regularly and duly pigeon-holed, and the municipality, as a whole, has progressed with callous indifference to what it is doing, and the citizens have gone into a state of apathy, if not nausea, regarding this all-important question; as if it was something of interest only to those who were concerned in getting the public vote at certain periods and serving only a sort of quasi-political purpose. I approach the subject, believe me, trusting that you may see with me that it is one of vital importance to the progress and interest, as well as the sanitary bearings, of this City. Let me propound to you a proposition? Suppose that a great American corporation appeared at the doors of your City Hall, proposing they should pay a certain amount of money, and take from you the harbour which lies at your doors, and occupy it, or fill it in, or transform it for merchandisable purpose, and in that work also pollute your water supply so that it would be all but useless; fancy what an enormous howl there would be from every person interested in the growth of the City if such a proposition was nearing a material consummation, and yet, gentlemen, believe me, this is precisely what we are doing, and what we have been ourselves doing for over five and twenty years.

Many of you will remember when the shores of this harbour came close to the doors of the present situation of the Custom House. You will remember when the old furnaces used to draw the water supply of this City from Blockhouse Bay and distribute it among the citizens of Toronto, then a better water supply than we are receiving to-day; and yet by the indifference of the citizens at large, we are depositing within the harbour 25,000,000 gallons of sewage daily, filling it up with the output of the sewers, necessitating dredging at times in order to secure a waterway, utterly disregarding the value of that waterway as an asset of commercial importance; ignoring the sanitary possibilities of that grand sheet of water, that magnificent bay, a harbour which, I say, is unsurpassed in its beauty and grandeur by any harbour in the world, and a bay whose beauty can outrival even the Bay of Naples. Our harbour opens the door to pleasure excursions to inland waters, to steamboats of various kinds and for various purposes, maintains a lake traffic which does an enormous amount towards expanding and increasing the commerce and importance of the City of Toronto; and this asset, by the indifference of the citizens, is being frittered away or ignored.

Now, with that preamble, gentlemen, let us come down to business. It has been time and time again proposed that the City of Toronto should do something with its sewage. Well, do what? And if you can do anything, why don't you get up and do it? What are the difficulties? The chief difficulty is this, that every man thinks that he knows by intuition all the difficulties which beset the sewage disposal of the City of Toronto, as well as its water supply. Although scientific minds may have devoted their energies and carefully studied the question, although engineers thoroughly versed in such subjects may come forward with a proposition, you will always find an undertaker or a lobbyist, some man who probably is nothing more than a door-to-door canvasser, who will come out with a scheme which will settle forever the whole difficulty, surmounting engineering difficulties which take probably years to comprehend; and that individual will have his portion of followers and men who will contribute their quota towards confusing the clearness of the issue. That is one of the difficulties. No matter how eminent the engineer, no matter how he may stand unique in the world as an authority upon the question, no matter how eminent the scientist upon questions of water filtration and water purification, he might come here and spend days in discussing the details of the question and mastering its complexity, yet when he came down with his opinion, which would undoubtedly be the truth, based upon scientific facts, when the engineer would project his proposition which would be based on sound engineering reasoning and fact, I venture to say that it would not go unquestioned by the man least informed in the Council Board, who, because of his ignorance, could see no difficulties, and because of his density, could not grasp the value of the document which had been presented for his consideration. This, I take it, is not the attitude of the gathering I have the honour of addressing to-day.

We propose to cleanse the harbour. It can be done. I say with all the emphasis at my command it can be done. And I add further that if it is not done, the criminality of that neglect rests upon the shoulders of its citizens, and upon the business men of the community principally and chiefly. What do you propose? I propose to go to work at once and study the situation. Let us look for a moment at how our City is situated. When one is going to drain a house or drain a building he is going to study the typography of the situation and the ground. He sees here a large City with 300,000 of a population, surrounded upon all sides by hills, with two large rivers, one the Don, upon the east; one the Humber, extending into the farmyards of West York. These pour down their waters, one on either side of our landlocked harbour, and the citizens in their turn have continued to pour, by the openings of multitudinous sewers, their slime and filth into this landlocked harbour. The land appears to slope largely to the east. There appears to be a larger amount of natural drainage eastward than westward. We need a supply of wholesome drinking water, and, with great scientific knowledge and foresight, we shove our pipe through the centre of the harbour and go just beyond the line of the sand limitation of the Island to draw our supply of wholesome drinking water. That is where we are, and that is where we have been for thirty years. As we have grown in population we have eradicated the pesthouse and the pit from our midst and we have turned them into our sewers, which, in turn, deliver the same filth down to our shore, and then we go along this beautiful waterfront and we pile it up with sand and gravel and old pipe and junk, and here and there a pile of coal, until, when we look at it as we come in on the deck of a steamboat, we say "Whither are we drifting?"

My recommendation for you is to clean this all out. Put the sewage somewhere else, and so treat it that it will cease to be sewage. Apply the scientific principles which have been practised and adopted by the most capable cities in the world. Adopt those principles to our conditions, so that we will receive from them the best results, and accept only that which has been tested and proven and found to be true by prolonged experience, use and adaptation. Can you do that? Well, I think we can. The City Engineer, for whom I have the greatest respect (and about whom I intend to say a word), after a very thorough and conscientious and careful study of many systems in the old world, sent there by the municipality to study that question, came back, and I am sorry to say, after that tour of inspection and those months of work, said: "These systems of sewage treatment are fine. They are undoubtedly in many instances satisfactory, but in a new country such as this, in a community where it is so difficult to raise the tax-rate for necessary work, I am afraid the process is too expensive for the

City of Toronto, and therefore I would recommend the City to construct a sewer, somewhere, nine miles from the seat of the intake pipe and, somewhere, three miles east of Victoria Park, and there be satisfied to pour the crude sewage of 300,000 people into the waters of Lake Ontario." I do not know what you may think, as business men, but as a man claiming to have some knowledge of the sanitary needs of a community, and the sanitary rights of adjacent communities, I felt at least it was my bounden duty to exercise every force and every emphasis at my command to protest in the strongest, in the stoutest and most effective way, against what I venture to characterize as the most unscientific and the most preposterous plan for dealing with the sewage disposal of a City that I had ever heard. I believe I was instrumental in delaying that project.

I hardly need waste your time in discussing its merits or demerits. Suffice it to say that it was proposed to construct a sewer east of the Woodbine, through a municipality into which we have no right of entry, pour that sewage upon a shore which we do not own, and which we have no right to pollute, go farther and deposit it into the waters of Lake Ontario, which the Provincial Government doubtless would take every measure to protect in a certain sense, and leave it there to be wrestled with by legal enactment, and by all the other conditions which would raise questions and leave us submerged in a condition of complication, with, I fear, an unfinished and uncompleted work. Then we go before the people with a proposition to construct a sewer up to a certain point, to Woodbine Avenue, and there to stop, to do something of which we cannot tell what the end will be. To commence a sewer and end it in a secret pouch; to finish that sewer by blocking the end; and to ask the people for $3,000,000, I think it was, in order to carry out that work, work which, as the press said, was never proposed to be completed, a sewer which began somewhere and ended no man could say where! And I am not surprised that in this community, distinguished for its educational institutions and for its common intelligence, they should reject *en bloc* this scheme as being unprofitable and unsatisfactory. This they did. After having had all that opposition we have gone back to consider the question upon a scientific, and, I think, satisfactory basis. We find that the people are not ready to accept any proposition which has not upon the surface of it an evidence of completeness and satisfactory working capability, and I believe that there is no use whatever in submitting such a question to the citizens of Toronto, unless it will stand the criticism of scientists and capable engineers everywhere. I do believe it is only a question of whether or not the system is going to be unquestionably satisfactory, perfect and complete. Guarantee that and the people will be able to give any reasonable amount to carry our scheme to perfection, and to remove forever the pollution of the harbour and the contamination of our drinking water. That, I take it, is the attitude of our people.

Now we are coming forward for your support with a proposition which I am prepared to bring before any audience, and defend in every detail, as putting once and for all the two questions beyond peradventure—the purification of the harbour and the purification of our drinking water. You cannot discuss one without entering upon the other. You cannot pollute the one without polluting the other. The water supply of the City of Toronto is drawn from a supply of water communicating freely with the water of the harbour and, with every change of wind, these waters are drifted hither and thither until the man who pretends to consider and discuss the sewage disposal of this city without discussing the supply of water for the city is simply discussing one side of the question, and leaving the other to take care of itself. I do not care where you construct sewers as long as you sink them deep enough to provide a proper gradient and run them along the streets which will drain the city most satisfactorily. The sewers now proposed are those that almost every engineer has agreed upon as in the best positions. The old text laid down for these sewers was in the Report of Messrs. Herring & Gray, of New York, who reported upon this question when Mr. E. F. Clarke was first Mayor, and they brought out what might be considered the standard Report upon which all subsequent reports were, more or less, based. Unfortunately, these eminent engineers recommended at that time to put the sewage crude into the waters of the Lake. But we had not advanced then where we have now, and the forms of treatment of sewage were not so thoroughly and completely understood. They tell us, and they have written letters upon this very question, that had they to consider the question again, they would certainly not recommend the deposition of crude sewage, untreated and unchanged, into the waters of Lake Ontario.

These sewers it is proposed to run, one a high level, and the other a low level, along the front below Queen Street, on probably Farley Avenue, and extending from Parkdale west of the Exhibition; running the main sewer right along on a line with Adelaide Street, and then extending it along with another low level sewer below that, near the water front, and continuing them as far as the Woodbine. That is the course planned for the construction of the pipes. The point is, "What are you going to do when it comes here?" It appears to me that Ashbridge's Bay offers the natural point for the treatment of that sewage. Why? It is a huge marsh. We have probably in all some thirteen hundred acres of foul marshland unreclaimed, which will ever be unreclaimed, and stand increasing in pollution as years go on. It is low lying. On the side of it we have enormous banks of sand ready at hand, as if suggested by nature for the sand treatment of the filth, that naturally and always, sewer or no sewer, will congregate into that land-locked bay. The land does not require to be purchased. What I propose to do, and what the Engineer now is agreed to recommend is, that we bring the sewage down there and put down septic tanks and bacteria filter beds (call them contact beds if you like), so that we will treat and filter our sewage, and discharge the effluent by a long-extended pipe into the Lake. This effluent will be quite clear enough and clean enough for the ordinary citizen to drink with impunity, and if we can accomplish that there will be no complaint from the people in the neighbourhood.

You say that is all very fine, but how are you going to do this? Let me show you the details of these sewers. We spoke of septic tanks and filter beds. Septic tanks to the ordinary man have little meaning; he thinks they are merely a series of tanks. It is the tank system started in England and experimented with in Exeter. They constructed the tanks, some entirely dark and others so arranged that there was an abundant admission of light at all times, and they kept the sewage there without allowing it to escape. It would be put into the tank and there kept in order to see what would be the effect, and it was found, and this point has been pretty generally substantiated by all subsequent observers, very many of whom were much opposed to the septic tank treatment, that the sewage is subject to the action of certain bacteria. A bacterium is a minute micro-organism. It is, if you like, a vegetable fungus. It has the power (and this is the point where so many people go wrong), it has the power of eating up all organic effluvia. Everything that contains albumen it is the bacteria's business to eat, and where the bacteria are there you will find the sewage, where the carcase is there will be found the ravens gathered together, and these bacteria will eat that sewage if you give them time enough, until every vestige of it is gone, until no matter how concentrated the sludge may be, no matter how much solid matter there may be, if you give those bacteria long enough time, they will devour every atom of it and leave the fluid to flow off without them, and this bacterial theory is essential to all forms of life. Without the action of bacteria you could have no decomposition, no fertilization, the farmer might sow his seed in vain, and might fertilize his land to the end of all time without results; for in carrying a fertilizer into his field, he does nothing more than carry the pabulum on which the bacteria can live and where they can grow and multiply and prosper, in order that they may fertilize his grain and render the crop still greater.

Look at the work in the Agricultural Colleges throughout the country to-day, read the accounts of the experiments with alsike and various forms of clover; go to Guelph, and open the laboratories and see how they are carrying on that very work to know how they can grow double the amount of grain upon the same amount of earth, increase the number of peas inside the pod, produce a product which will nourish the stock on one-half of the cultivation and one-quarter the amount of grain, and they will tell you it is by understanding how to plant upon the roots of that very growing thing those bacteria which are necessary for its fertilization. It is the go-between which picks up the material and shoves it into the clover and enables the plant to grow and become fruitful. We intend to give those bacteria all they can eat, and urge them to eat still more. We intent to house them, if we can, in the septic tanks and when the bacteria have gorged themselves until they become inactive, then we will have what we speak of as clarified or treated sewage, which, I will frankly admit, is not pure, which even the most critical will tell you still contains 50 per cent. of polluted matter. His Worship the Mayor recently said, "Is that going into Lake Ontario? If so, I will not support it." No, it is not. We are going to take the 50 per cent., glad to get half way upon this question, and submit it again to a still further change, and that change is to throw the effluent upon the surface of a filter bed, so that it can be filtered and drained by properly constructed underdrains and there will not be a vestige of polluted matter left to run into the Lake.

What about this filter bed? I have a lot to say about it. It is a bed which is housed in a concrete box. It will be fifty feet wide and one hundred feet long. It will be walled in with concrete, it will have a bottom of concrete, and there will be enough beds to handle the whole sewage, and the sewage can be handled efficiently and perfectly with 100,000 gallons to the acre, and indeed some high authorities say it can be handled quite satisfactorily in the quantity of 500,000 gallons to the acre. In Brockton, Mass., I wandered over a bed similarly constructed. I had on a pair of low shoes. They had no septic tank. They delivered an enormous quantity of sewage there, something like 30,000,000 gallons of sewage per day; threw it upon these filter beds composed of sand and gravel and coarse stone about five feet deep; and I was astonished to find that upon the banks of those beds there were people pic-nicking, and after the sewage had been run off in all its enormous volume I walked over the bed within one-quarter of an hour and even the tops of my shoes were in no way soiled.

To a man who looks upon a sewage plant as an open privy pit this is something that he cannot grasp, but it simply means that he does not grasp the infinite possibility of a modern scientific sewage plant, and the man who has not seen such a plant can never grasp its character or its value. We propose to put such a thing as that down here after we have had the septic tank. We want the septic tanks to save ground, time and expense; we want to get the work which those bacteria will do done within that tank, and then our filter bed will act more quickly and we will not require so many filter beds. These filter beds you can make of various kinds of material; some are made of cinders, some of slag, some of sand. They are, on the average, about four feet, six inches deep, bottomed with concrete, and on the bottom of that concrete we have a drain laid, and into that main drain we have collective feed tiles, and these drains, which may be six inches, some of them nine inches, discharge into the Lake the effluent clarified and purified. A mixture of fine sand, coarse sand, fine gravel, coarse gravel, or broken stone, five feet deep on the top, or broken slag, which is probably easier to get in some localities, and which has a number of spongy interstices, is used and, as the water trickles down, the flow is retarded and the solid matter is retained in the interstices; and the same process goes on in the septic tank; the bacteria which are present, and which require air for their maintenance, devour completely all the organic substance.

What flows through after the bacteria is not the albuminous matter or the sludge of sewage; that has been too precious to the bacterial life, but the fluid which was the fluid of suspension wherein the substance was contained will be allowed, free from both bacteria and the deposit, to pass through the bottom of the bed and into the drain; and it will be a fluid which the most critical of the process will admit contains at the worst but 10% of organic matter and which Percy Franklin, the great authority of Europe, states will contain not 9% of organic impurity or bacterial life. If we had our water supply of the City of Toronto as pure as that you would never have occasion to hear from the Health Officer complaining of its condition, and there is no scientist upon this continent who would dare to question its value or its purity. It would be free and open to all to drink freely without danger or restriction. Give me that, and I am prepared to endorse it to the fullest. That is the scheme which we have proposed and are going to submit. We are going to have our sewers out there. We are going to put our septic tanks there, and we are going to make, in addition to our septic tanks, filter beds, so that sewage can be treated and filtered, and you will never have from it any smell. You will never have occasion to remark the filthiness of the water, or find that your white-painted boat will have a streak on it if you try to cross the Bay in it.

About the cost; what do you suppose all that filtering process is worth? It is going to handle in the neighbourhood of forty million gallons of sewage a day. It is going to add to the cost of the plant about $940,000, so that without that addendum we will be able to have a sewage plant which will cost you about two and a half million dollars; and with that you will be able to have a sewage plant which will cost you three and a half million dollars. Now, I would like to know which you would prefer if it were your own. Do you prefer a thing about which you would have grave doubts and question, though you save a third of the cost, or would you be prepared to sit down and say: "This is a vital question to my life and to my health; I want to know how much money will be the beginning and the end, and when I have paid it, to have something on which I can rest contented and bank with absolute certainty. Give me that." Such will, I think, be the attitude of the people of this city, and for that reason I advise the legislators at the City Hall to go before the people with a complete and perfect system, and never mind the cost. The people would rather pay a million dollars more to have what is perfect than two-thirds of the amount to find to their chagrin and annoyance that what they paid two and a half million dollars for has turned out imperfect. The best engineers will say that the plan I have presented is the most highly satisfactory, and will indorse it in every respect.

I want to go further. After I have got your sewage disposed of, I may still have to tell the newspapers to " boil your water." I don't propose to come up against criticism unprepared, and I tell you my conviction on that question is that if we carried our sewage to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and poured it there into the blue ocean, there would still be times when it would be incumbent upon me to warn the citizens that the water of Lake Ontario was unfit for domestic use and needed to be boiled. We are pretty dirty sometimes in the City of Toronto, but we are not prepared to say that all the filth that goes into Lake Ontario comes from our shores. I have told you what the Don carries in its waters, and the Humber, with its barn-yards and piggeries. They are blocked by the ice in the spring, and then with a rush we have the whole of this filth slushed out, and we get a modicum of it at the intake pipe close by, and that is not the only pollution close at hand. What about the municipalities that abut the shores of Lake Ontario? What about the city to the west of us at the head of Lake Ontario? What about the sewage contamination that travels down the Niagara River? What about the cities on the south shore, increasing in population, increasing in manufacturing importance, increasing in the volume and density of sewage, and sewage, with a wind, will travel forty or fifty miles, and quite far enough to reach our intake pipe.

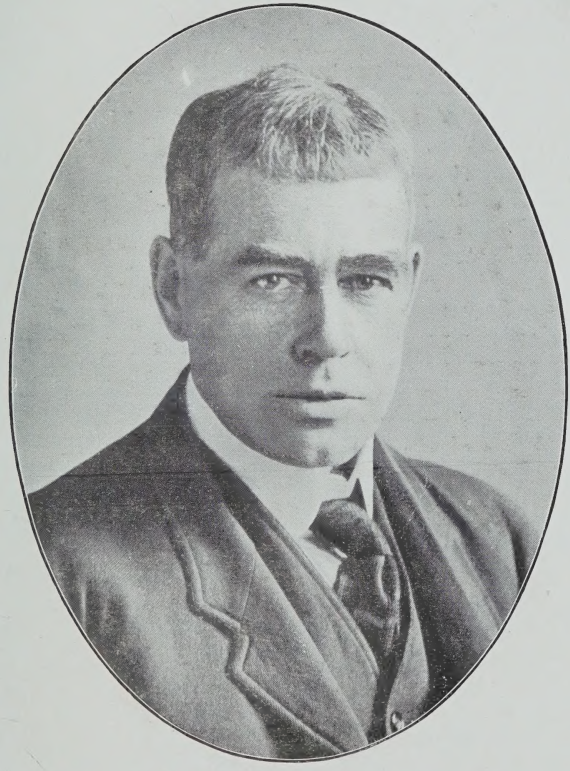
In order to put this question for once and forever at an end, I venture to couple with these proposals the recommendation that the drinking water of the City of

Toronto should be filtered. The city should have a drinking water supply above question. It is a menace to the progress and the prosperity of this community to be constantly reminding the people abroad that the citizens of Toronto have to boil their drinking water. I want a drinking water which will stand for itself, so that the sojourner within our gates can drink it without feeling for the next three weeks that he has twitches all through his alimentary canal; and I believe that if we could get rid of that bugbear it would be worth a couple of million dollars. For this reason I propose to put upon the Island a filter for our drinking water. There is a natural collection of sand; we have land in abundance; we have to pump our water very little, and we would maintain a covered filter bed, covered because the water is lower in temperature than sewage would be, and put it through precisely the same kind of filtering that Professor Coke recommended for the city of Hamburg. He went there at the instigation of the German Government to investigate the cause of the prevalence of cholera, and he found that the cholera in many cases was on one side of the street and not on the other, because on one side the people used filtered water and on the other side water not filtered. Since they have been using filtered water there has never been another case, and Hamburg to-day has its portals open and its shipping uninterefered with, and its people free from the ravages of that dread disease.

I want a filtering plant for our water; I want a plant which can be maintained at all time and run at all times without interference. I am asked, will this filter bed work? How often are you going to renew it? I want to show you what Professor Coke demonstrated in Hamburg. Here is your filter of sand and gravel; the efficacy rests in the film that forms on the surface. This film—it may be of coarsely coagulated albumen—regulates the rapidity of the filtering process, maintains the continuity of the work, and must not be materially interfered with. It will extend six or seven inches through the filtering plant, and it will work for fifty years without renewal, without interference, without transformation, without change. I do not say it will work quite so long for sewage, but it will work for many, many years undisturbed, unrenewed. The cost of maintenance is trifling. I will grant you, if frost gets in so as to freeze the whole mass solid so that there will be upheaval of it, and cracks and fissures through its substance, the results will be serious, but we propose to surmount that difficulty by having it covered, so as to render danger from frost inoperative, and then all you have to do is to let it alone, to see that the water is not thrown upon it so as to disturb the great mass of the filtering bed.

In case foreign substance lodges upon it, it may be necessary with a garden rake to quietly and gently go over it and loosen here and there an inch or half an inch of the surface, so as to allow complete settlement into the deeper parts of the bed, and that must be all. I do not think that is required in connection with water filtration, but it is required sometimes in connection with sewage filtration, and when you get that you can see how much it will require to operate it. A couple of men would look after the whole question of water filtration. The cost is not in the attendance, it is in the cost of pumping the water or the sewage. It is necessary in our case to lift that water up on to the Island ten or twelve feet; so also it will be necessary regarding our sewage. There is one point that will come up. Some will say we tried this before, we tried filtering. Oh yes, I will tell you how you tried it. If you had been there six years ago you would have seen it. The man who undertook the scheme dug a big hole in the sand, then he proposed that the water should filter through there and soak into that basin. He constructed a basin in the sand, and then he proposed to pump the water from the basin or allow a drain to carry it off and run it to the well at the bottom of John Street, so that the filtering consisted in soaking through a narrow portion of soil. The idea of filtration was entirely submerged in such a hole. There was no film; he did not know anything about film. It was a hole in the sand, with no thought of the lake level, which changes as the months go on. To get over the whole difficulty he sent out men to dig trenches so that the water would run completely through. Instead of getting the deeper water he would be satisfied with the sun-warmed and filthy surface water, which is always more polluted than the deep water. Because the attainments of the mind that conceived such a gigantic farce were not able to give scientific and satisfactory effects we are asked to condemn the whole system of scientific and satisfactory working of water filtration, as if it had ever been really tried for this community.

I have been superficial, I grant you, but you can take my word for it that if the people of the City of Toronto will wake up and adopt our plan, and carry it out thoroughly and satisfactorily, they will never have any reason to regret it, and they will find the work a complete one, which will continue to operate satisfactorily, and which will thoroughly and completely dispose of the sewage of this city, and which will protect the drinking water of the City of Toronto beyond any possibility of a question. And I might say that this is not wholly a local question. It is a question of interest, not only to the City of Toronto, but of interest to the whole Province of Ontario—indeed, the whole of this country, for municipalities everywhere are struggling with similar conditions. They are attempting, because of their penuriousness, to pollute the water at their shores. At practically every meeting of the Provincial Board of Health we have some municipality proceeding to throw its crude sewage on the shores, and then asking us in two or three years what we can do to arrest an epidemic. They say if a big, rich, prosperous community like the City of Toronto are doing this, why cannot we? Looking at the question in its broadest sense, here we have certainly a grand city, the banner municipality of this province, in a great country of which we have every reason to be proud, a country which has been resplendent in the fertility of its soil—a soil anticipating the husbandman's richest desires. Are not these facts sufficient to inspire with hope and with pride every born Canadian, and yet we must defile the whole situation for five and twenty years or longer by making the magnificent harbour of this world-renowned Lake, pure in its intent, and in its inception grand, little more than a vile, polluted spot next door to a sewer.



Mr. W. F. Maclean, M.P.,
of Toronto, Ont.

A GREATER TORONTO.

Address by MR. W. F. MACLEAN, M.P., before the Empire Club of Canada, November 7th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Let me approach this question by saying that the Township of York—and Toronto occupies mostly the lake front of the Township—is ten miles across the front and ten miles deep; in other words, it occupies 100 square miles, or 60,000 acres. That is the area of the present Township of York. The City of Toronto at its widest part is about eight miles across and at its deepest point is about four miles, but in no case does it average two miles deep; as a matter of fact, Toronto occupies about seventeen square miles of this 100 square miles in the Township of York, and we have three adjacent municipalities, North Toronto, East Toronto and Toronto Junction, occupying about four square miles; so that, roughly, we have in the municipalities contiguous to Toronto twenty square miles. Now, then, if you take the territory south of Eglinton Avenue, which is three and three-quarter miles north of Queen Street, or from the Bay front over four miles, you then have forty square miles south of Eglinton Avenue, and we have already dealt with twenty-one miles of it which is now in the four municipalities, so that leaves about nineteen square miles south of Eglinton Avenue. But north of Danforth Avenue and east of the Don there are at least six square miles that will remain for many years as farms and market gardens, and my farm happens to be one of them. So that there are only thirteen square miles left south of Eglinton Avenue, and a great deal of that thirteen miles is already built up as closely as the town is, so that when you talk about Greater Toronto and you propose going to Eglinton Avenue, you are not widening the city in so far as giving it any territory to grow in. You have already twenty-one miles in the city, and you have got almost forty square miles occupied now.

My suggestion to-day is that if you speak of Greater Toronto, you must take these in for three great public reasons. First, to control the water supply of all that country; second, to control the roads and the traction systems in that territory; third, to control the sewers and sanitation of the district. If you want a Greater Toronto, and if you want to have it right, on broad lines, and if you want to control the roads and the streets and the traction on the streets, and the water supply and the sanitation, you should make one bite of it and take in the whole Township of York. It would not be necessary to immediately wipe out the farms and gardens; you do not need to disturb them, or increase their taxation, but in some way you can take a general supervision over the whole Township of York. It would not be necessary to thing that is contributory, or rather that is essential, to the development of Toronto. If you don't help the city grow, it won't grow; you have to help the growth of everything. If you want things to grow in your garden you have to cultivate it and water it and drain it. It is exactly like a city, and you even have to put roads and paths through a farm. If Toronto is to grow, too, we must control all these great essentials that are necessary to its growth.

Let me for a moment talk about the structure of Toronto. In a word, Toronto is settled on the banks of the Don. Down at the Don was the first capital, the first jail was there, and the first Parliament buildings were there, and the first Governor's residence was up on the Don, and the city would have been there to-day and the back-bone of the city would have been the Don, had not the people in earlier times failed to see that it was essential to have permanent high-level bridges over that river. The old residents will tell you that in former years the characteristic of the Don was this, that with spring freshets and fall floods it was often impassable for two, four, or six weeks at a time, and the little bridges were invariably swept away. As a consequence, the city only grew one way from the Don—on up to the west, and it kept growing west. It would have grown east if the people in those times had risen to the occasion by bridging the Don with high-level bridges. They failed to do it, and instead of the Don being the back-bone of the city, Yonge Street is the back-bone of the city, or rather, I would say, Avenue Road and north. The city has a back-bone in Yonge Street, but it wants ribs, and it has one great frontal rib in Queen Street. You can go from Scarboro, bound right through practically to the Humber by the Lake Shore Road, and it is the one great through street; but if Toronto is to grow it must have a better east and west street than Queen Street and that street is Bloor Street. It is all there, with the one exception of a high-level viaduct over the same Don I spoke of, and then you have your first high-level street, a ten-mile road across this city, and that will be the great mid-rib of Toronto.

In the old days they had to get to Kingston on the east and Hamilton and London on the west, and the roads were the Kingston Road and the Lake Shore Road or Dundas Road. Dundas angles off to the northwest and Kingston Road to the northeast. They are to-day practically the only entrances into the city and they are entrances by Queen Street, and so the whole growth of Toronto has been forced down to the front along Queen Street from the Kingston Road and from Dundas Street; but the moment you make this new and continuous Bloor Street to the north, that will tap all the roads coming to Toronto in a northeasterly or northwesterly direction. There is the Daws Road leading out to Markham, and the old Vaughan Road on the northwest, and these diagonal streets ought to-day to come into Toronto by Bloor Street and give traffic the option of distributing itself by Bloor Street rather than forcing it away down to Queen Street and then making a part of that traffic go north again.

Greater Toronto, to my mind, is dependent upon this more than anything else, and a proposition requiring immediate attention is the creation of this great east and west street, made up of Bloor, one of the old concession lines and a high-level viaduct over the Don. Put the street car system on that street and you are right in touch with Toronto Junction and East Toronto and you are in touch with them on your own property, and you can give those suburbs a single fare into Toronto, and the same thing will come in regard to Yonge Street. It is a shame that East Toronto and North Toronto are at the mercy of the traction line now in the city and have to pay two fares to get into the city of which they are really citizens. To put Toronto right and let it grow, you want this great Bloor Street continuous, and a street car system on it connecting East Toronto and Toronto Junction with the city, and as there is a scarcity of land in Toronto you get over 2,000 acres of land most contiguous, most easily built upon, high, well-drained land, that is immediately available for the future growth of Toronto. That is the structure of Toronto. We have a great north street, but it has two traction sytsems on it to-day. We have not got it emancipated yet, and we want to emancipate Bloor and Yonge Streets, and Toronto must be the absolute master of both those streets to insure the development of the city.

I have had a great deal to do with public affairs of one kind or another, and if you undertake to do anything you must do it with the instruments you have at hand—take things as they are. We must take the City Council as it is, and I am not expressing one word of dissatisfaction with it to-day. The City Council can do these things. We want to start with what we have, and we want to try and do this with present instruments and at the same time construct the legislation that is necessary for Toronto in order that she may grow. She ought to have some legislation so that she could at the earliest opportunity recover those franchises which we have parted with to private corporations—legislation that will allow Toronto at the next Session to acquire the Street Railway franchise, simply to recover it, and the city to be given the right to buy in the stock. The stock is at less than 88 to-day, and while that stock is down the city ought to be free to purchase it. To-day get this in your heads with regard to all these franchises, that it is the franchise which is carrying itself; in other words, the traffic is paying the interest and dividends on that watered stock, and the electric power used in the city is bearing interest and dividends on the electric light proposition; but if you want to have a Greater Toronto and want to do something to make it greater, you must be absolute masters of the traction system and you ought to get legislation to allow you to recover that traction system, and to take over the distribution of electric power in this city.

Let me tell you why the city ought to have public ownership in regard to these things, especially when it is a matter of growth and development. It is that when you have public ownership you can do with your own whatever you like, whenever you like. Now when you own the Street Railway you can do with it what you like, and you can take it where you want the city to extend, and you can let it extend that way. Now we are tied up to a company within our own borders that won't let the city grow the way the citizens want it to grow. They say they will elect to give us the extensions or roads they wish, so that the extension and growth of the city to-day is tied up by a corporation which has tied up adjacent municipalities too. This will strangle the growth and extension of Toronto unless it is remedied. Now let us adopt what has been adopted in the State of New York and which is the new idea in these public franchises, especially in regard to the growth of corporations. The key-note of this new policy is that a public franchise is worth only the money that has been invested in it *plus* a fair consideration to those who did the work and who had it in hand; so that when these men put fabulous prices on their franchises and say that the city shall only be allowed to secure a single fare for its people, they have no right in law, in equity, or in any other way to claim anything beyond a fair consideration for the investment that has been made in connection with their franchises. In the matter of legislation it ought to be the object of every citizen of Toronto, and the object of the City Council, to in some way secure at the forthcoming session of the Legislature, legislation which will enable us to recover such franchises. Our rights in this direction have already been provided for in the Beck law enabling us to recover the electrical franchise. Let us go further in connection with the street railways and then we will be able not only to take over the Toronto system but all the outlying systems and consolidate them with the city system so as to give the people a single fare and the control of the streets and the traction on the streets. We can give entrance to every outside radial road that cares to come into Toronto. All these will come and will help to make the city great, and will only come if you start on these right lines.

So I do not propose any radical change in government. Take the machinery we have for the present, but get legislation sufficient to enable existing machinery to lay the city out on these large and broad lines. Some day I do hope to see the City of Toronto governed by a Commission. I would not object to-morrow to see a Commission have full charge of the executive affairs of the city, and still keep the City Council for purely legislative purposes; but let us have an Executive made up of competent business men and trained experts in several departments—a high-class engineer, a high-class man in finance, a high-class man in business ability—and I would not object to one high-class lawyer in that Commission either! A Commission of that kind to do the executive work and a Council for purposes of legislation would work all these things out, and such a Commission would handle not only the roads and the distribution of power and light and the street railways, but it would give you what you want in connection with a Greater Toronto—a continuous policy.

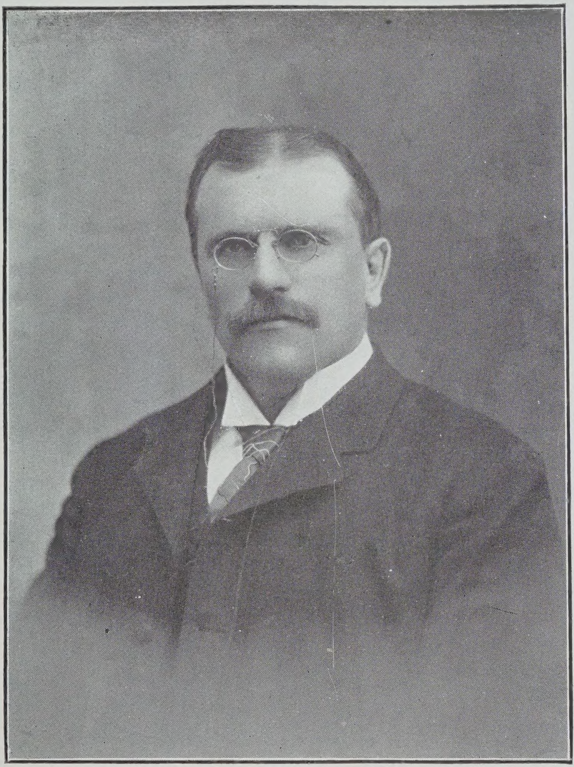
The finest city in the world to-day in the way of redeeming itself is the old city of London, and it is costing millions and millions of pounds to do it, and they are recovering everything and getting to be the owners of everything in it, but they are doing it by a continuous policy, and largely by a Commission. You will get a continuous policy if you have high-class men for your Executive, and leave the City Council to legislate. And I would not make a sudden change. I would try for the present to get those sort of men on the Board of Control. Why cannot this City of Toronto to-day in some way raise the salary of the Board of Control, which, practically, would then be your Commission. Raise the salary of the Board of Control and define the qualifications that some of its occupants ought to have—that three of the five ought to consist of at least an expert in engineering, finance or something of that kind, and in a year or two years you would begin to get the right kind of Civic government without any great strain upon existing conditions.

This city also, if it wants to grow and be a great city must take an interest in the great railway transportation question that is now up. And in a rather peculiar way we find this Province of Ontario most unfairly treated by the railways that have their headquarters in Montreal. They are not giving Toronto and this Province the consideration they ought to give, and this city ought to back up the Government of this Province in establishing some kind of state-owned railway in the Province of Ontario. We have built a great railway to the north in the direction of Hudson's Bay. We ought to own all that line right from Toronto to the north and it ought to be centered in Toronto and built and administered and maintained on the line that it is going to bring the traffic from the north into the City of Toronto. That little question of itself is well worthy of the attention of the citizens of Toronto and it ought to be a part of Greater Toronto; and the Ontario Government and the Ontario Legislature ought to have a vital interest in building up this City of Toronto. We to-day are more than one-tenth of the whole population of Ontario, but we have only four or five members in the Local House. We want our full representation in the Legislature, and you are not getting what you are entitled to in the way of legislation because you have not your due representation there to present your arguments; and the sooner you make a demand on the Government, saying that Greater Toronto wants her just share in the representation of the Legislature with a view to getting legislation that the city requires, the better it will be for Toronto.

Let me tell you what I think is another essential thing, and that is you must see ahead in connection with municipal affairs, as well as in your own business; you must have foresight if you want to succeed in anything. You have to look ahead in regard to Toronto. We did not look ahead with regard to our waterworks or anything I know of. I remember when the existing system came into force. We have patched it three or four times. It should have been laid out for a population of 300,000 at least. Let us to-day deal with these questions from the point of view of a Greater Toronto and the fifty or one hundred square miles that we propose that Toronto should be. Let us do it on the big lines, because the big lines are the cheap lines. It is just as easy to finance a proposition for a big thing, with a sinking fund for forty or fifty years, on a large scale, as it is on a small scale: in fact, it is better. A thing that will do much for Toronto is to get rid of the old idea of right angles in regard to streets. It has been found that the greatest economy in the growth of a city is the diagonal street. The diagonal street saves labour and human effort at every turn. We haven't got a diagonal street in Toronto. We ought to have one. We can have them cheaply, too. We can have one from the City Hall to Toronto Junction, and there would be an enormous saving, but if we cannot have them there is something else that belongs to this century, and that is the "tube."

Now, if Toronto is to grow to half a million—and it is right at our doors, and is going to be a million in ten or fifteen years—now is the time to outline the policy for a system of tubes in Toronto. The tubes cost very little. You would be surprised what a tube running to the north for quick underground traffic would be. You could run it thirty miles an hour. You could have one to the north-west and one north and these same tubes could be built in connection with a sewer system, the distribution of electric wires, etc. Is it not a shame the up-tearing of these streets that you see? Let us once and for all adopt a policy of development that will from this day forward make provision for the rapid growth of the city. You want to have these great tubes, and put in them your water-pipes and your electric wires; you can put a sewer alongside and you can put in a fast-running traction service and the traction service will pay the interest and give the city a dividend at the same time and give you all this accommodation. Don't give that tube franchise away; run it as a business proposition; find out what it will cost. I have made some inquiry into it. Everybody is frightened as to this idea of building tubes. Wherever they have been adopted they give that diagonal transit that we ought to have, and where we select our tubes it will pay in the long run to make the diagonal streets above them so that Greater Toronto, if it takes advantage of the occasion, if it has foresight, if it gets into its head the fact that this is the twentieth century, and that there are new ideas that are based first of all on good engineering, ideas that are sound in the way of finance and in regard to public health, there will be no trouble in carrying them out.

Greater Toronto does not need to be afraid of the future. All it wants is a fair amount of wisdom and good advice, and a fair amount of courage on behalf of its citizens. If we have that we will be able to work out a Greater Toronto and we will work it out almost right away. We can begin this work immediately. We can set out at the coming elections, we can pledge our candidates to this idea of a Greater Toronto, and we can go to the next session of the Legislature for necessary legislation. A Greater Toronto not only means a concentration of wealth, but lots of land for its people to live on. The town can be spread out. There is nothing in this idea of a great congested city with the people living in tenement houses, and especially is it unnecessary in a country like this; and if we do spread it out, we ought to have some first-class kind of traction service that is never a bother no matter what kind of weather we have. A tube will be independent of the weather all the year round, and that alone, with the diagonal streets, will do a great deal to allow Toronto to grow. Ontario to-day is fitted to be the workshop of the whole of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and Toronto is fitted to be, and is to-day, the finest city in the Dominion of Canada. Let her grow. We are citizens of no mean city: all we want to do is to be true to ourselves, to get a conception of what Greater Toronto ought to be, and let each one do his little part on the lines I have tried to indicate here to-day, and you will find this city a great city in commerce, in education, and, best of all, a great and good city for its citizens to live in.



THE HON. L. P. BRODEUR, K.C., M.P.
Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Ottawa.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE OF 1907.

Address by the **HON. LOUIS PHILIPPE BRODEUR**, K.C., M.P., Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Canadian Delegate to the Imperial Conference of 1907, before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 14th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The short time at my disposal, and the extensive field presented by the subject of this address, oblige me to waive all preliminary remarks save the expression of the pleasure it gives me to have the honour of speaking to the officers and members of the Empire Club of Canada. The very name of your Club is an assurance for me that you take a deep interest in all matters that concern the well-being and future of the British Empire and of the young and progressive Canadian people, and I have accepted with pleasure the suggestion of addressing you on the work of the Colonial Conference—the solidarity of the interests of Great Britain and the Dominions.

Before entering upon the consideration of the important questions dealt with at the fifteen meetings of the Conference, and summarizing the proceedings and resolutions discussed, I desire to impress upon your minds the fact that I shall view each subject from a general standpoint. Keep, then, before you the idea of a United Empire composed of the Government of the United Kingdom and the Governments of the self-governing States. Remember that between the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions of the Empire there exists a solidarity of interest so firmly established that whatsoever affects the present prosperity and future prospects of the former equally affects those of the latter, and *vice versa.* Consequently, in dealing with the subject, when I mention Canada alone it is clearly understood that the real and practical interests of the Empire are ever present to my mind. To summarize the vast amount of work performed by the members of the Conference would demand an entire volume. I cannot pretend to present more than a general outline. The results respectively to the whole Empire and especially to Canada will have to be read in the records of the prosperity and achievements of the coming years. I shall now ask your attention while I touch briefly, but as clearly and logically as is possible for me, upon the four questions of paramount importance:

(1) Constitution of the Conference.
(2) Military Defence, divided into
  (*a*) Land Defence.
  (*b*) Naval Defence.
(3) The "All Red Line."
(4) Preferential Trade.

(1) Doubtless you have noticed that these Conferences have always, in the past, been styled "Colonial Conferences." During the first, second, third and fourth days of the Conference of last April the title by which this Assembly of Representatives from the different sections of the Empire was in future to be known, the constitution thereof for all time to come, and the machinery to be adopted in its organization, were all fully discussed, and the result of the deliberations embodied in a Resolution which reads thus:

"That it will be to the advantage of the Empire if a Conference, to be called the Imperial Conference, is held every four years, at which questions of common interest may be discussed and considered as between His Majesty's Government and Governments of the self-governing Dominions beyond the Seas.

"The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom will be *ex-officio* President, and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Dominions *ex-officio* members of the Conference. The Secretary of State for the Colonies will be an *ex-officio* member of the Conference, and will take the chair in the absence of the President, and will arrange for such Imperial Conferences after communication with the Prime Ministers of the respective Dominions.

"Such other Ministers as the respective Governments may appoint will also be members of the Conference, it being understood that except by special permission of the Conference, each discussion will be conducted by not more than two representatives from each Government, and that each Government will have only one vote.

"That it is desirable to establish a system by which the several Governments shall be kept informed, during the periods between the Conferences, in regard to matters which have been, or may be, subjects of discussion by means of a permanent secretarial staff, charged under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

There is also in that Resolution another paragraph dealing with the calling of Conferences between two or more Governments. I have not time to touch upon the various phases of the three days' discussion which led up to the adoption of this Resolution. I shall try, however, to give you as briefly as possible the nature of the principles embodied in that Resolution: (1) Change of title from "Colonial Conference" to "Imperial Conference;" (2) The placing of the Prime Minister of Great Britain instead of the Secretary of State for the Colonies as the directing spirit of the Conference; (3) Changing the status of the representatives of the self-governing Dominions from that of subordinates dealing with an official of a superior power to that of Government dealing with Government on a footing of equality; (4) Replacing of the title of "Colonies" by that of "Dominions"; (5) The appointment of representatives from the Dominions other than the Prime Ministers; (6) The creation of a branch of the Colonial Office to deal with matters concerning the self-governing Dominions.

Behind all these changes looms up the strongest guarantee of the permanency of our political autonomy and legislative liberty that the Constitution has ever granted to us. I would like to unfold all the details of that historical discussion, but I am afraid that I shall have to confine myself to a mere sketch of those details. First, as to the change of title. Previous Conferences, as well as the last one, have been called at the instigation and by the authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, inviting certain members of the self-governing Colonies to meet him and discuss with him the relations existing between the Colonial Office and the Governments of the Colonies. It was the action of the superior power desiring to confer with its subordinates. He selected himself those who were to be members of the Conference, and did not leave to the Colonies the right to select their representatives. Those Conferences were virtually Colonial in their range of view, and could not be considered as being of an Imperial nature. The Conferences of the future, by virtue of the Resolution which I have just read, are to be no more Colonial but Imperial Conferences. They will not be presided over by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but the Prime Minister of Great Britain will be the guiding spirit of those meetings, and it is only in his absence that the Secretary of State for the Colonies will preside. The Dominions will have the right to select their own representatives, and in other words, instead of having a meeting of the Colonial Department with subordinate officers, it will be a meeting of Government with Governments. It will be the meeting of the Government of the United Kingdom and the Governments of the self-governing Dominions. Just at the opening of the Conference, after the Prime Ministers had been welcomed by the Chairman, Lord Elgin invited the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to address the Conference. In the course of his remarks the British Premier said:

"I should like to observe at this point—and there is sometimes, apparently, in the minds of men a mistake on this subject—that this is not a conference between the Premiers and the Colonial Secretary, but between the Premiers and members of the Government under the Presidency of the Secretary of State for Colonies, which is a very different matter. In regard to questions of military defence, for instance, the Secretary of State for War will come and confer with you, and the First Lord of the Admiralty in the same way will be present when naval questions are discussed."

It is true, as the Prime Minister then said, that there was some misapprehension as to the constitution of the Conference, but we must not forget that this was due entirely to the way in which the invitation had been drafted. The suggestion which he made was certainly a step in the right direction. It raised at once the status of the Colonial representatives in the scale that makes for greater equality between all parties, but I think the situation was perfectly well represented when the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, speaking after Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, said: "This Conference is not, as I understand it (I give my own views), a Conference simply of the Prime Ministers of the different self-governing Colonies and the Secretary of State, but it is, if I may give my own mind, a Conference between Government and Governments; it is a Conference between the Imperial Government and the Governments of the self-governing Colonies of England."

This idea expressed by the Canadian Prime Minister was embodied in the Resolution, which led us away from the idea of subordinates dealing with a master towards the higher and more inspiring conception of the principle of liberty-enjoying Colonies of the Empire acting in harmony with the Mother Country on a footing of constitutional equality. The advisability of the creation of an Imperial Conference having been decided upon, there remained the question of the *personnel* of the Conference. All the Prime Ministers of the British Empire will, *ex-officio,* be members of the Conference, and besides, each Government, whether Imperial or State Government, will have the right to appoint representatives. It is true that formerly representatives of the different Governments were permitted to attend, but they were permitted to speak only when questions affecting the different Departments with which they were concerned were under discussion. The necessity was felt also that the work of the Conference should be continued during the Recess by the creation of a Secretariat that would collect information of general interest to the different parts of the Empire.

I have not yet been able to see the measure which has been discussed before the British Parliament by Lord Elgin in the month of August last on the organization of the Secretariat, but from the imperfect report I have received of those proceedings and of the speech of Lord Elgin, I see that the officers of that Secretariat will devote in the future all their time to the consideration of the affairs concerning the self-governing Dominions. I fully realize that it will be in the interest of the Colonial Office, as well as of the self-governing Dominions, that their relations with the Imperial Government will be conducted exclusively by officers, or by a branch of that Department, having nothing to do with the administration of the Crown Colonies. The principles under which the self-governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies are administered are so different that it is very much to be desired that these two administrations should be as separate as possible. The Resolution passed by the Conference and the organization proposed by Lord Elgin will be certainly accepted with great satisfaction by the self-governing Dominions.

Considerable debate was raised with regard to the word "Dominion," and as to whether the time had not arrived when the self-governing Colonies should cease to be called "self-governing Colonies," but rather "self-governing Dominions or States." In the invitation which had been issued by Mr. Lyttelton for the calling of the Conference which has just taken place, it had been suggested that these Conferences should be called "Imperial Councils." The Canadian Government took exception to that title because it would not have upheld the autonomy of the various self-governing Dominions as does the idea of a Conference. It was too formal, and it might, perhaps, at a future date, exercise powers which would properly belong to the self-governing Dominions. The basic principle of a United Empire with perfectly independent component parts is guaranteed beyond all future question. This Dominion of ours steps into her proper place amongst the nations of the world, proud of her British connection, and proud of her own nationhood.

The next subject taken up by the Conference was that of Imperial Defence. This was divided into (*a*) Land Defence and (*b*) Naval Defence. The principal feature of the discussion on Land Defence consisted of an able and lengthy address by Mr. Haldane, Secretary of State for War, and the Resolution finally adopted by the Conference. Mr. Haldane said: "My main purpose in addressing the Conference is to suggest for your acceptance the opinion that the General Staff which we have created at home, and which is in its infancy, should receive as far as possible an Imperial character. I will define what I mean. It is not that we wish in the slightest degree even to suggest that you should bow your heads to any direction from home in military matters, but the General Staff Officer would have as his function this—trained in a common school, recruited, it may be, from the most varying parts of the Empire, but trained according to common principles—he would be at the disposition of the local Commander-in-Chief, whether he were Canadian, British, or Australian, or New Zealander, or South African, for giving advice and furnishing information based upon the highest military study of the time."

There was certainly no objection to any proposition of this kind, because it gives to our military organization the benefit of the studies of men who have spent their lives in the study of military matters, and at the same time it maintained the absolute freedom which the country has always been asking concerning military control—the control of its organization and control of its expenditure. Here is the Resolution, which was carried unanimously:

"That this Conference, without wishing to commit to immediate action any of the Governments represented at it, recognizes and affirms the need of developing throughout the Empire the conception of a General Staff recruited from the forces of the Empire as a whole, which shall be the means of fostering the study of military science in the various branches, shall collect and disseminate to the various Governments military information and intelligence, shall undertake the preparation of schemes of defence on a common principle, and without in the least interfering in questions connected with command and administration, shall at the request of the respective Governments advise them as to the training, education and organization of the military forces of the Crown in every part of the Empire."

You will note that upon every question touching military defence this Dominion has come out absolutely free and unrestrained by any laws other than those of her own creation. In addition we have the assistance of an advisory body to assist in perfecting our military education, and not only is no compulsion to be exercised in our regard, but most important assistance is to be granted us in the acquirement of military knowledge and information.

Naval Defence. Somehow or other the idea got abroad that Canada has never done anything by way of assistance in Imperial Naval Defence. I know not whence this false impression arose, but certainly it has existed, and like all wrong impressions it has found its way into many circles. In 1902 Canada expressed the idea that on this question, as on all other questions, we should be free to act the way the Canadian people liked. The suggestion was then made of a contribution in money to the British Navy. It was represented on the part of Canada that this would be against the principle of our control of public expenditure, and contrary to the principle of responsible government. The other Colonies represented at the Conference of 1902 were disposed to take a rather different view, and were willing to accept the suggestion and make the direct contribution. I am glad to see, however, that after four years' experience two of the Colonies then represented (Australia and New Zealand) have been urging the advisability of changing their policy of 1902, and of accepting the one then propounded by Canada. At the last Conference all were willing to contribute to the defence of the Empire; there was only a difference of opinion as to the means by which this defence could be carried out.

It was a source of gratification for us to find out that the stand taken then by the Canadian Government on this question was being recognized as the best by the two great Dominions of Australia and New Zealand. As Minister of Marine, the duty devolved upon me of explaining the Canadian attitude. A document had been laid before us showing what had been spent upon Naval Defence by the United Kingdom and by the self-governing Dominions, but when it came to speak of Canada, it simply said nothing had been contributed to Naval Defence. I undertook then to prove and establish that this document did not represent exactly the situation, and am glad and happy to say that after I had given my explanation, Lord Tweedmouth, First Lord of the Admiralty, was kind enough recently, in the House of Lords, to recognize absolutely the soundness of our contention, namely, that we had done a great deal for the defence of the Empire by looking after our local naval defence.

As an erroneous view of this matter may perhaps exist also in Canada, I may be permitted to say in a few words what we have done in that connection. In 1818 Great Britain, the Mother Country, made a Treaty with the United States, by which the United States fishermen were permitted to come and fish in Canadian waters. American fishermen were given rights and privileges of a very extraordinary nature, and concerning which Canada had no remedy. This Treaty was never submitted to Canada, and there was really very good reason for that, because we had then no responsible government. We were to all intents and purposes a Crown Colony, though we had legislative representation. It became necessary to have vessels to carry out the provisions of this Treaty, and to prevent American fishermen from violating them. The British Admiralty had to send out vessels to protect those fisheries, and to have the Treaty respected. This was surely an Imperial obligation, since it was incurred in virtue of a Treaty between Great Britain and the United States without the consent of Canada.

Which country is now looking after the protection of the fisheries, and carrying out the Imperial obligation? We ourselves, the Canadian people, are carrying the burden, and carrying it gladly. Since the abrogation of the Treaty of Washington Canada has spent for that service $3,147,990. Last year we spent more than $250,000, and this year we are spending $500,000, including the construction of a cruiser. Surely this is a contribution to Imperial Naval Defence. Then we have our Great Lakes—really inland seas—that have to be protected. We have to protect our fisheries there. Who did that work formerly? The British Navy. Who are doing it to-day? The Canadian Government. In regard to our Fisheries Protection Service, we acquired a cruiser some years ago, manned entirely by Canadian seamen. This cruiser is in itself a Naval Training School for our young men. Not only have we assumed control of the above services formerly controlled by the British Admiralty, but we are doing the same in regard to other matters. We have established wireless telegraph stations on the Atlantic coast, and are about to construct some on the Pacific coast. The expenditure in connection with wireless telegraphy is under the control of the Admiralty and included in its general budget. It was included in the statement of money spent for the British Navy, yet what we spend on it in Canada is not generally included in the amount given as our part of our Naval expenditure. The Hydrographic surveys along our coasts and our rivers were made by the British Authorities. We have taken over that Survey.

Since the first of January last the Halifax Dockyard has been under the management of the Canadian Government, and very soon the Esquimalt Dockyard will also be administered by the Canadian Government. Whatever sums these Dockyards cost the Admiralty we assume as a charge. All these are contributions to the Naval Defence of the Empire. I might also mention the widening and deepening of the St. Lawrence for the safety of vessels plying on those waters, which are mostly British vessels. We provide for the lighting of the coasts and rivers with all the most perfect modern appliances. We have established recently at Cape Race, in Newfoundland (which is a British Colony) a light which has no equal in the world. In England they have light dues to pay, while Canada places those safeguards free of cost. Is all this not a contribution to the protection of the British Navy, because most of the vessels plying in those waters are British vessels? I am happy to say that this expression of views which I gave before the Conference is thoroughly in accord with that expressed by Sir Charles Tupper in an article published in *The Nineteenth Century and After,* of May, 1907. This article shows that on that question there are not two opinions amongst the political parties in Canada, but that we are absolutely in accord. Here is what Sir Charles Tupper says:

" It is known that from the outset I have felt the interests of Canada and the true interests of the Empire to be opposed to the demand for Colonial contributions to the Imperial Navy. Those loudest in that demand admit that a voice in administration by the Colony contributing is essential, and all the naval experts concur in the opinion that any divisions of authority would be fatal. But this is not for one moment to say that each Colony should not contribute to the extent of its ability to the defence of the Empire. I hold strongly that it should, and I maintain that Canada has discharged that duty in the manner most conducive to Imperial interests. . . . . Canada protects her fisheries by her own cruisers, and when the Imperial Government expressed a wish to be relieved of the expense of maintaining the strategic points at the harbours of Halifax and Esquimalt, the Canadian Government at once relieved them of that large expenditure, amounting to £185,000 per annum, and assumed it themselves. The Empire can be best defended by strengthening its weakest part."

Some views were expressed by the Representative from the Cape to have the Colony committed to the idea of contributing to the British Navy, but I may say that such an expression of views did not find an echo in the great majority of the States which were represented at the Conference. Once more on this subject, as on that of land defence, and in connection with the constitution of the Conference, Canada emerged successful, and in a manner that cannot but help materially in her future progress and prosperity.

All Red Line.—The Imperial Conference of 1907 will go down in history as the pioneer of the idea of establishing a fast-line service connecting the different parts of the Empire through Canadian territory. The idea was received with a great deal of enthusiasm in this country, and it was also well received in the different parts of the Empire interested. Several times during the proceedings of the Conference allusion was made to this idea of establishing direct communication, by which the mails and passengers for the different parts of the Empire could be carried by this route. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the one who drafted the Resolution which was finally adopted by the Conference, and which reads as follows:

"That in the opinion of this Conference the interests of the Empire demand that in so far as possible its different portions should be connected by the best possible means of mail communication, travel and transportation; that to this end it is advisable that Great Britain should be connected with Canada, and through Canada with Australia and New Zealand, by the best service available within reasonable cost; that for the purpose of carrying the above project into effect, such financial support as may be necessary should be contributed by Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand in equitable proportions."

I have no time to analyze the debate that took place before this Resolution was adopted. I am happy to say, however, that the general tone of the discussion was very favourable. It is a great idea which might do more for the connecting of the different links of the British Empire than anything which has been done in the past. The subject is now engaging the consideration of the different Governments concerned, and I hope that the British Government will do as much for this as they have done for connecting the United States and England. The days are not far away when the British mail route between North America and England was through Canada. It was at the time that the British Government was subsidizing the Canadian mail route. Since that time, however, it has been found advisable by the British Authorities to give their subsidies to a route having New York for its terminal point on this side of the Atlantic, but in view of the development we have made in bringing trade from the West over our Canadian routes, by our Great Lakes and by the St. Lawrence, it is to be expected that our efforts for the development of commercial relations between Canada and Great Britain will be recognized, and that a subsidy will be given that will assure the construction of this "all red route," and thus closely connect the different parts of the Empire.

Preference.—No question before the Conference entailed more discussion than that of Preference. At one time it seemed as though this discussion would render the proceedings less harmonious than any discussion which had previously taken place. There was, perhaps, in connection with that debate more party feeling exhibited than in any previous discussion, but I would not like to express any arbitrary views as to that. A mandate had been given by the people of Great Britain some two years ago to its Government in favour of free trade, and the Government of to-day had to carry out that mandate. We have certainly no right to complain as to the attitude of the people of Great Britain, as they have no right to complain if, in framing our fiscal policy, we think advisable to impose duties higher or lower upon their goods. If we deserve to have, as far as fiscal autonomy is concerned, perfect freedom, it is only fair that we should allow to the people of Great Britain the same freedom as to their fiscal policy. Of course it was the duty of the representatives of the self-governing Dominions to urge the advisability of having preference within the different parts of the Empire. We fully realize the difficulties there are in the way, but it was at the same time our duty to try to remove those difficulties, or, at least, to give an expression of our views, and the following Resolution was adopted to that effect:

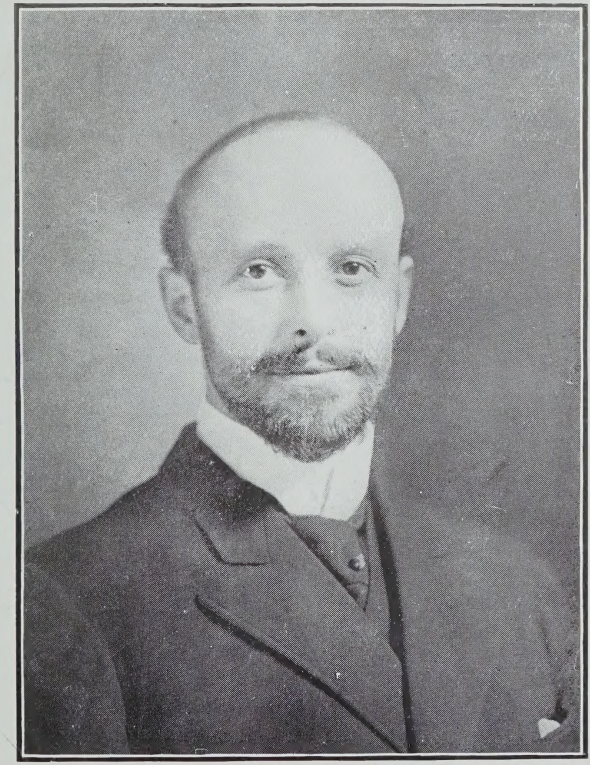
"That this Conference recognizes that the principle of Preferential trade between the United Kingdom and His Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas would stimulate and facilitate mutual intercourse, and would, by promoting the development of the resources and industries of the several parts, strengthen the Empire. (2) That this Conference recognizes that, in the present circumstances of the Colonies, it is not practicable to adopt a general system of free trade as between the Mother Country and the British Dominions beyond the Seas. (3) That with a view, however, to promoting the increase of trade within the Empire, it is desirable that those Colonies which have not already adopted such a policy should, as far as their circumstances permit, give substantial preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the United Kingdom. (4) That the Prime Ministers of the Colonies respectively urge on His Majesty's Government the expediency of granting in the United Kingdom preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the Colonies either by exemption from or reduction of duties now or hereafter imposed. (5) That the Prime Ministers present at the Conference undertake to submit to their respective Governments at the earliest opportunity the principle of the Resolution and to request them to take such measures as may be necessary to give effect to it."

There were several other questions discussed, such as Emigration, Naturalization, Judicial Appeals, Universal Penny Postage, Silver Coinage, etc., but I have already trespassed too much upon your time to deal with those questions, with which you are all familiar. I have endeavoured, as briefly and as clearly as my ability and the time at my disposal would permit, to trace for you the main features of the Conference of 1907. I have avoided argumentation and details. Taking now a bird's-eye view of the extensive field we have just traversed, I will close with a summary of the advantages that accrue both to Great Britain and to Canada from the Conference of 1907.

Henceforth the Imperial Conference exists. It is an institution as permanent and as regular in its organization as any Parliament within the Empire. In it each part of the Empire will be heard through their duly elected representatives. In future those Conferences will be meetings of Governments with Government, and the obligations of the Dominions in regard to the Empire are clearly defined. Canada's services to the Empire in the matter of Military Defence and Naval Defence have been set forth and recognized. The project of an "all red route" has been launched with every reasonable assurance of its ultimate success. In fact, the Empire, through the Imperial Conference, has advanced further than ever towards the attainment of that ideal pictured by Lord Tennyson, when he described its freedom as

> "Broadening down
> From precedent to precedent."

So far as our Dominion is concerned, we have had our fiscal autonomy, our legislative independence, our constitutional freedom, acknowledged and consecrated. In a word, this year of grace, 1907, has beheld Canada elevated in the eyes of the Mother Country, of her sister Dominions, and of the civilized world, and has rendered her people more and more proud of their country, their soil, and of the British institutions under which we are so happy to live.



Mr. S. Morley Wickett, ph.d.
of Toronto.

THE PROBLEMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT.

Address by MR. S. MORLEY WICKETT, B.A., PH.D., before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 21st, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The early settlers of Connecticut, those celebrated Puritans, in drawing up their constitution, started with these words: "The laws of this commonwealth shall be the laws of God until such time as we are able to improve on them." I do not know whether, in the light of that statement, a person is entitled to criticize the later constitution of the Commonwealth of Connecticut and its political practices of to-day or not, but what is important is that those early settlers strove for an ideal; they tried to realize that ideal; they fell short, perhaps, and we will all agree, too, that perhaps Moses, if he were living to-day, would not turn to a New England constitution to get pointers for a revised edition of the Decalogue. But, Sir, the reference has an application to the subject in hand. The ideals that we form for our local government affect more than we perhaps may be inclined to think at first the ideals of the wider political field of the Province and the Dominion. If we have a Tammany in our city, our Provincial and our Dominion politics must necessarily be influenced. If we have a rotten civic administration; if we have inefficient departmental heads; if we have a poor municipal council; we can only expect that the people who go out from our city into wider political fields must necessarily have their ideals more or less shattered.

In taking up this subject of civic government, let me say first that the problem of municipal government is essentially a modern one. There were large cities in ancient times, but they were comparatively few. Jerusalem had about 100,000 population at most, although during the times of the Passover it is estimated that possibly 200,000 more came into the city or camped round about it. Thebes had 300,000, Alexandria probably 700,000; Rome had 1,000,000, it is estimated; but a great many other cities that bulk large in history had a comparatively small population. Athens had not, at its furthest development, more than about 35,000 free population; and Sparta five to ten thousand less. That was a very curious situation in Rome, when, with the decline of agriculture and the flocking of rural labourers into the city, the population swelled very rapidly and they did not know what to do with the people. Prices of food were raised, rents were raised, and the governors, in order to satisfy the populace, built magnificent palaces to give them employment. To relieve the population they transported 12,000 legions on one occasion back to their native provinces. The people were not able to earn their own living, and in the end they crushed the city and the Empire. Syracuse, itself a magnificent city, divided its population into five walled towns. However, that leads us into another field.

In the Middle Ages, with its raids of barbarians, the populations were scattered and the small towns that grew up and bulk large in history were simply gatherings of people around a market, around a fort, around a castle, around a monastery, etc. If you visit cities such as Cologne, or Frankfort, or Nuremburg, or Vienna to-day, you will find that the circle marked by their walls is a very narrow one, and that the population could only have been a small one. As a matter of fact, and crossing over to England, we find, even in that progressive country, that the population of cities on a large scale is a comparatively recent phenomenon. For instance, in London, in 1400, there was only 35,000 of a population, and in 1800 there were only some 860,000 people. In 1800 one-sixth of the Scotch lived in cities; now two-thirds of them. In England one-fifth lived in cities; to-day three-fourths of them. In France the rural population is declining, and the only growth in the population is found in the cities. Paris has multiplied five times during the last century. When we turn to

America or Canada, we find everywhere most striking illustrations. In 1871 there was practically no Winnipeg; and to-day a magnificent city. In 1891 Toronto had less than 100,000, and to-day its population is estimated at 350,000. The services performed by municipalities have also changed markedly. Rome, the leader in municipal services, provided good roads, fresh water, good sewers. As a matter of fact, the Romans were so proud of their sewers that they named them after their famous goddess, Venus Closana.

In the Middle Ages the services performed were trifling affairs. For sewers they had open gutters, no pavements, practically no roads, no sidewalks. If you went out at night you carried your own rush light and bodyguard. The justice was a matter of determining the scales of the market and the like, slight justice, administered by a Royal official, or an official of one of the guilds. But we come down to modern times, and we find we have sidewalks, sewers, telephones, electric lighting, and policemen (sometimes). We have schools and public libraries, and laundries, and bath-houses, and there almost seems to be no end to the services that are demanded of a municipality to-day. I think we can say that the modern world, through the activity of the municipality, is a new world, an entirely new world, compared with the town life of the Middle Ages, or the town life of antiquity. Now, in meeting the problem of city government the new world, particularly in comparison with the old world, has been handicapped. We have no traditions of organization. The key to the success of the old world, in its governmental affairs, has undoubtedly been the professional responsibility of its departmental officials. We have had no such traditions. We have had no traditions of organization; towns springing up here like mushrooms have made it necessary for us to appoint officials. We have had to appoint committees of one kind or another; we have had to work out our organization on the gallop, and the result was sometimes very unsatisfactory.

A few years ago Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador at Washington, in studying the field of government in the United States came to the conclusion that the misgovernment of the United States cities was the one conspicuous failure in United States government. Since his statement municipal students and municipal bodies have given great attention to the problems of organization, and to-day it can safely be said that municipal students are agreed as to the solution of organization. They differ, and naturally, as to the extent of municipal activity; they must differ on such a point, because municipal activity will depend on the efficiency of local organization and the extent to which municipal business is regarded as business, not as politics.

The problems before this country to-day, municipal problems, it seems to me, are these: In the first place, to determine to what extent the Dominion Government is entitled to interfere with local administration. We have that question in connection with radial railways, street railways, and electric power, and other problems. The second question is the relation of the Province to the municipality; to what extent the Province should interfere or prevent the municipality from carrying out its own wishes. For instance, our City Council must go for additional power to the Legislature, and municipal business is hung up until they get that power. Undoubtedly a Local Government Board would be an excellent thing. A third great problem is that of municipal ownership; to what extent municipalities should undertake to supply various services; and, fourth, there is that of civic organization, and it is to this problem that I wish to call your attention in a few words.

Municipal work is divided here amongst various departments. We have the Engineer's department, taking charge of sewers and water and street cleaning and the like. We have the Assessment department, taking charge of the assessing of property. Then the tax collectors, to collect the taxes; the Treasurer's office, to handle the moneys; and the Solicitor's office to advise on the legal points. We have an elective Council—

Mayor and Aldermen. They are elected yearly, and sub-committees of the Council appointed for each department, to confer with the departments and report back to Council. As I said, the keynote of municipal success is dependent upon the efficiency of the departmental heads. We have yet to learn, I think, in this country, the value of a good man. A single mistake may cost a municipality very dearly. At a Congress of Co-operation in England one speaker said: "I have never yet seen an individual who was worth more than one hundred pounds a year. If he gets more than that he is stealing." Now, that shows one point of view. I have heard it again and again, and I think you have —"Any official who gets more than two thousand or three thousand dollars is overpaid." In this country I have not been able to find more than about two officials who receive more than $5,000 a year. The result is that men who are worth more than two or three times that sum can get it in other services and are using the municipal service merely as a stepping-stone to something more remunerative. If we want good municipal government, we must get the right men to take charge of our work; not necessarily select them from the locality —advertise for them over the whole continent, go to Europe for them; but we must get the right men.

As regards the Council, I may say as an indication of the lack of professional responsibility in this country I would call your attention for a moment to the lack of departmental reports and of municipal statistics. The ideal municipal reports are reports that indicate to the Council and to the public the work of the department in the past and in contemplation. If those reports are inadequate or wanting, it shows very clearly that the departmental head is not taking into confidence the Council and the public. Municipal reports—statistics—mean, if they are well prepared, a comparison of costs of one municipality with another. If we have adequate reports we would know whether our city is being economically run or not, because there would be comparisons with Montreal, Winnipeg, and the like. There would be a standard of comparison. As regards the Council, I think we are expecting too much of our Aldermen. We expect them at present to do both legislative and administrative work; legislative work to determine the policy of the city; administrative work to see that that policy is carried out. As long as we have departmental irresponsibility we will necessarily have to depend upon the Aldermen for the administrative work and supervision. An Alderman comes into the Council, and what does he find? He finds that the appropriations are pretty well made for the year. He has no chance in his first year of leaving his mark, practically speaking. In a few months he must retire and go through again the expense and annoyance of an annual election. We expect him to do all kinds of work, legislative and administrative; we expect him to go down and see where a railway siding is to be laid, a sidewalk, and the like. I remember having a personal experience once about laying a sidewalk, and the City Engineer's recommendations were over-ruled; and one year after the sidewalk was re-laid where the Engineer recommended it in the first instance. If we do not rely on expert advice, we must necessarily rely on inexpert advice.

We not alone expect too much of our Aldermen, but I think it can be said that we make the conditions of tenure of a chair in the Council as disagreeable as possible. We compel the man who comes out, willing to serve his fellow-citizens, to expend two or three hundred dollars in an election. We expect him to do a lot of work in the Council that he should not do. We expect him to come back in twelve months and go through the election again. I quite agree that there are other municipalities in Canada that are breaking away from the annual term of office—for example, Kingston and Halifax, which have a three-year term, and Quebec, which has a two-year term, etc. A great many municipalities have two and three-year terms. In the United States they have from two to four years; on the Continent from three to six years. The Mayor here is elected each year.

By way of contrast, I would like to tell you, in a word, the system they have adopted in Prussia. The Mayor is a lawyer, a trained municipal lawyer, who serves his apprenticeship in a Mayor's office, who is also a lawyer, and at the end of his apprenticeship he applies for the position of Mayor of a township, or a small village or municipality. He is accepted. If he makes a success of it as an administrator, he is invited, perhaps, to a larger municipality, probably to a small city. One of the highest honours in his career is to be invited to be Mayor of one of the big cities—Cologne, Leipsic, Berlin. He is an expert whose whole professional reputation is at stake.

Contrast that with our system. We take an inexperienced man; whether he is a successful business man or not, or a successful lawyer, he knows nothing of the details of municipal government; and we invite him to occupy the chair. At the end of twelve months he has to come again for re-election. It is a tradition, perhaps, to re-elect; very well, at the end of two years we begin all over again, and expect that these magnificent public works which the municipality has undertaken, involving millions of dollars of capital, and put in charge again of a new man and new Council, will be carried to a successful termination. We have been working in the direction of a combination of an administrative Board of Control with an elective Council. We have been trying to relieve the Council of a good deal of administrative work. We have been working out in a most interesting way, but very slowly, an administrative board, called the Board of Control. It was decided that the Aldermen would appoint Controllers from among themselves, with a few hundred dollars more salary—Aldermen, $400; Controllers, $700. Later on it was decided to elect Controllers at a salary of $2,500, the system we have at present.

Mr. C. R. W. Biggar, the late City Solicitor of your Municipal Council, and a man very familiar with municipal organization in Canada, the United States, and elsewhere, was invited to draw up a model charter for the City of Edmonton. He provided for an elective Council for two years, and a Board of Commissioners, who were at the same time departmental heads. It is a combination of the Board of Control and departmental heads—a most interesting organization. I may say that Regina has lately adopted entirely the Edmonton charter. Winnipeg has adopted the Board of Control idea, as well as several other cities in Ontario. We are working in other words, to a division of work between the Aldermen and the administrators, under whatever name, whether called Commissioners or Controllers, in such a way as to relieve men who are willing to sit in the Council and to give time for the study of municipal problems and the cares of detailed administration. The Board of Control is working out so as to be a supervisory administrative body. It might almost seem that if the departmental heads were the right men we would not need an administrative Board of Control. But the work of a city is so multitudinous that probably it is necessary to have an elective administrative board to secure popular control for the work of the city.

Summarizing, then, the situation of to-day, the tendency seems to be this: In the first place, it is towards greater departmental responsibility as the basis of municipal success; in the second place, towards an elective Council for a longer term of years; in the third place, the creation of an administrative board to relieve the Aldermen of a great deal of their administrative work, and then to secure administrative efficiency; and in the fourth place, to develop, because that would be absolutely necessary if departmental responsibility is realized, a more satisfactory system of municipal reports and municipal statistics which will enlighten the Council and the public with regard to the municipal situation. We have in the past devoted a great deal of attention to our Dominion constitution and to our Provincial constitutions. The result has been that the municipalities have been overlooked. They have been growing in size, and their undertakings growing in importance from year to year until at the present moment we have come to feel that the organization with which we have been attempting to carry on our civic work is that suited rather to our earlier village life. In other words, as Professor Goldwin Smith has again and again pointed out, "we are attempting the government of great cities with a village organization." That seems to me to be a summary of the present conditions. If we are to have satisfactory government in the near future it behooves us, if we cannot go into the Councils ourselves, to endeavour to get the best men into the Council; encourage them to come out, and encourage them in intelligent municipal reforms.

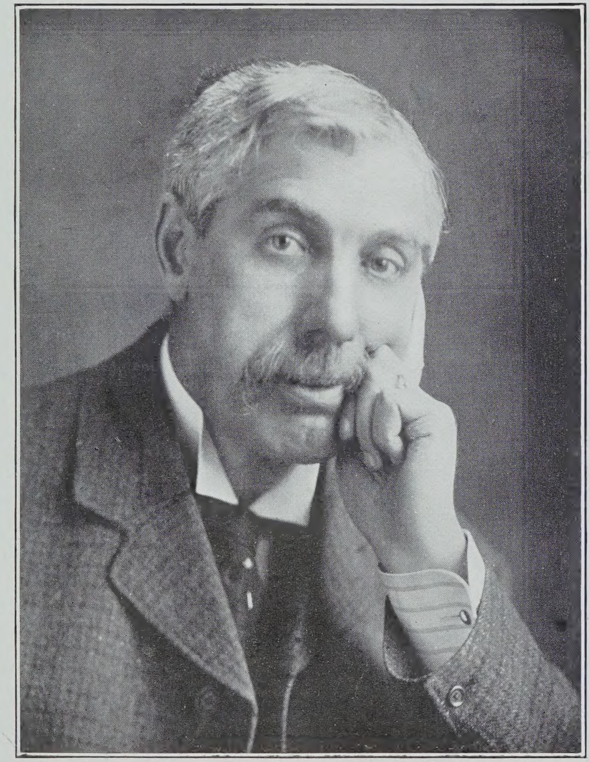
DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANADIAN WEST.

Address by **Mr. D. B. Hanna**, 3rd Vice-President of the Canadian Northern Railway, President of the Canadian Northern Quebec Railway, and of the Quebec and Lake St. John Railway, before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 28th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The commercial history of Western Canada begins in 1670, with the charter by which Charles II. constituted Prince Rupert and seventeen of his friends "the Governor and Company of Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay," and permitted them to trade over an area of 2,500,000 square miles. For these tremendous privileges their only obligation to the monarch was to supply him annually with two elk and two black beaver from the country over which they practically assumed sovereign rights. The toll of elk and beaver has long since been superseded by a less picturesque method of making annual reports. The difference between the elk and beaver of the Governor and Company of Adventurers and the voluminous reports of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canadian Northern Railway, and other large concerns, is the difference between Western Canada without transportation and Western Canada with transportation.

In the discussion of an Empire club there is room, I think, for inquiry into one of the most remarkable characteristics of the race to which we belong—I mean the pioneering instinct. It has made us what we are. Why do men carry implements and wives into the far country of the Peace River, when a thousand miles nearer the best market for their produce there are square miles of fertile land to be obtained for the asking? A gentleman, whom I will not name, was asked if he would sell, at a magnificent profit, his interests in a railway system. His answer was: "No; I like building railways." Now,



Mr. D. B. Hanna.

Third Vice-President, Canadian Northern Railway, Toronto.

the instinct of the Peace River agriculturist is vitally the same as that of the railway projector. Each is the complement of the other, and each contributes to the newness of life that comes to the migrating millions of the race, and without which no empire can save itself alive. The impulse that brings my fellow-countrymen to Canada is not always the desire to acquire a little money. It is rather the re-assertion of the elemental quality in virile mankind, which, first in the garden was impelled to subdue the earth, and later founded colonies and transplanted empires across the face of the planet. Abraham trekked out of Ur of the Chaldees under Divine direction. Thousands of settlers in the Canadian West were moved by the same influence, though they didn't recognize it in the lantern lectures of the Dominion Government's agents, or the restrained advertisements of steamship and railway companies.

It is a profitable exercise occasionally to dip into the earlier literature of the Prairie Provinces of to-day. To glance over the prophecy of a living general in the British Army—Sir William Butler—written in "The Great Lone Land" in 1871, as you cross Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta in a luxurious train, is to make you fairly well satisfied with what has been accomplished. Butler trailed from Fort Garry to Edmonton and Macleod, and returned over Saskatchewan ice. Reading his book you breathe an atmosphere of isolation, not to say desolation. But in the middle of it there is the prediction of settlement and abounding grain fields —a prediction fulfilled in his own time. Butler's journey was made just 200 years after the charter of the Company of Adventurers was granted. The intervening years had seen the Company's work spread over a vast immeasurable territory, and had produced Lord Selkirk's heroic efforts to found an agricultural community, imported via Hudson's Bay to the Red River. But there was a majestic vacancy about the whole land. Even when a corner of the country had become sufficiently civilized to need an armed force to dissipate political rebellion the white population was pitifully sparse. The advance guard of ploughmen pioneers from the East soon afterwards, however, began to break through the woods and waters of the Dawson route. But there could be no real advance so long as the Red River and the Dawson route governed the going out and coming in of the people. Men looked for railways as eagerly as a lost voyageur looks for the dawn. They got the railways, but they have never been satisfied with them; and never will be so long as there is a railway builder in whom the pioneering instinct expresses itself in parallel lines of steel and in reduced passenger and freight rates.

The Canadian Pacific Railway in this connection is the forerunner of us all. The early promoters of that great corporation have never, I think, received all the credit due for their marvellous and successful effort to bind the East with the West. Remember the conditions under which that great enterprise was accomplished. Between settled Ontario and the prairies there was a wilderness of poverty. Between the prairies and the Pacific were ranges of mountains which many people thought no combination of engineer and capitalist could penetrate. The end-all of the scheme was foreseen by some excellent men to be unpaid bills for axle grease. Financially, the times were unpropitious. In 1879 Sir Sandford Fleming felt compelled, in view of what he considerately called "the necessities of the situation," to advise the Minister of Public Works to "establish a great territorial road on the site of the main line of the Pacific Railway from Lake Nipissing to the north side of Lake Superior."

When, in 1881, the first Canadian Pacific Railway rails were laid west of Winnipeg, the white population between the western boundary of Ontario and the Rocky Mountains, and between the United States boundary and the Arctic Circle was 66,161. Manitoba contained 59,187 whites, of whom 8,000 were in Winnipeg, and several thousands were brought in by railway contractors. The true population indicator of that time is the fact that in the Northwest Territories there were only

6,974 whites, practically all living on the fur trade and business, with 49,500 Indians. It was only in 1876 that civil government was organized in the Territories, and Governor Laird, who took up his abode at the new-founded Battleford, and who still lives in Winnipeg, has described the perilous conditions under which he journeyed officially to Fort Macleod, which is now in the fall-wheat section of Southern Alberta. Eliminating British Columbia, then, the C.P.R., in 1881, began to open up territory 900 miles long and 300 miles wide—taking roughly the Saskatchewan Valley as the northern frontier—with a population of 66,000, or one-fourth of a civilized person to the square mile. But in the Territories, or three-fourths of the prairie country, there was only one white person for every thirty-five square miles of cultivable land. It was not an inviting prospect for men of faint heart and little faith. The Canadian Pacific builders were of another sort. True, the Company was given an unprecedented stake in the possibilities of the West, but its early history was one of hard times, and for years was a load of care to those who had riveted to it all of their own fortunes and as much of the fortunes of other people as they could attract to their cause. That it is to-day an enterprise of which all Canadians are proud is gratifying alike to the Dominion and to the Company. Look at some facts that shine with Canadian Pacific history. Beginning with 1881, the growth of white population in twenty-five years has been as follows:

	1881.	1906.
Manitoba	59,187	365,688
Saskatchewan and Alberta	6,974	......
Saskatchewan	......	257,763
Alberta	......	185,412
Total	66,161	808,863

Quite as illuminating as the growth of population are the immigration returns, which show that during the year ended June, 1896, the total immigration to Canada was 16,835, and in the year ended June, 1907, it was 256,000. But this Century had come in before the immigration reached 50,000 in a year. In 1901-2 it was 67,379, and in 1902-3 it reached 128,364. Equally illuminating is the growth of actual settlers located on free lands granted by the Dominion of Canada. Thirty years ago, or in 1877, 845 homestead entries were made, aggregating 135,200 acres (a homestead is 160 acres), but 54 per cent. of the entries were subsequently cancelled, the duties required under the Homestead Act not having been complied with, and the land reverted to the Government. Five years later, in 1882, when the railway reached Brandon, the homestead entries were 7,483, representing 1,197,280 acres, with cancellations of 47 per cent. Twenty years later—in 1902—the Western country had passed the experimental stage, and the larger movement of settlers was in full swing. Then began what has often been called the "American invasion," and that year, in addition to hundreds of thousands of acres of land sold by Land companies to actual settlers, 22,215 homestead entries, representing 3,554,400 acres have been made. The figures are as follows:

	Homestead Entries.	Acreage.
1903	32,682	5,229,120
1904	26,513	4,242,080
1905	34,645	5,643,200
1906	42,012	6,721,920
1907 (10 months)	25,305	4,048,800

Up to the end of June, 1907, it may be conservatively estimated that over 30,000,000 acres of land have been granted by the Crown to legitimate settlers in Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Add to this acreage the sales made by Railway companies and Land companies of approximately 20,000,000 acres, and it is not difficult to foresee that the Canadian West must soon become the bread basket for the world. The Surveyor-General of Canada estimates that in Saskatchewan and Alberta alone there is a total land area, after deducting 30,080,000 acres for water, of 324,125,440 acres, of which he says 106,240,000 acres are suitable for growing grain, the remainder being suitable for ranches and mixed farming. The influx of people and occupation of land have been coincident with railway expansion on the prairie itself, to say nothing of what has been done elsewhere to serve the West. The Comptroller of Railway Statistics informs me that this year there are in Manitoba 2,823 miles of railway, and in Alberta and Saskatchewan 3,173, a total of 5,996, with hundreds of miles under construction. The great expansion in immigration in 1902-3 was in a most remarkable degree coincident with the extension of the Railway with which I am associated. The Canadian Northern claims no special credit for the phenomenal increase in immigration, but it cannot dispute the fact that the rapid development of the enterprise opened up a wide and fertile territory and made it possible for the great influx of new settlers to locate on free or cheap lands near to markets and general supplies.

I am not here to laud the particular enterprise to which I devote my working hours, or to defend it from criticism to which, in common with other systems, it is subjected. But as it is essentially a Canadian undertaking, projected and governed by typical Ontario men—may I localize it, and say Toronto men?—it is perhaps not unfitting that some note should be taken of what has actually been accomplished to meet such a situation as is embedded in the immigration and census figures I have just given. Besides enjoying the privilege, as I do, of being the first officer of the Company in the immediate charge of all its operations from the first day a wheel was turned, I am able to speak from a personal knowledge of what has been done. I shall refer exclusively to the lines west of Lake Superior. Ten years ago—in 1897—we operated 100 miles of railway through a then unsettled country. Traffic was light and the train service limited. Our equipment consisted of three locomotives and some eighty cars all told, a working staff of less than twenty men altogether, and a pay-roll for the year under $17,000. The gross revenue for the first year was under $60,000, but it was more than sufficient to pay our debts. During that year we handled 25,700 tons of freight and carried 10,343 passengers. There is nothing particularly impressive in these figures. To-day, or ten years afterwards, we are operating—or shall be when, in a week or two, the last rails are laid on the Brandon-Regina line —3,345 miles. We have an equipment of 237 locomotives, 219 passenger cars, including 35 sleeping and dining cars, and about 8,500 freight cars of all kinds. These figures, of course, do not include the large number of locomotives and cars ordered and now in course of construction by the builders. The 20 men of 1897 have become 10,700 in 1907, with a pay-roll of over $5,000,000 a year. And these figures do not include the large construction forces, which at times run into thousands of men. The gross earnings are now on a basis of over $10,000,000 a year; the freight handled for the past fiscal year was 1,822,220 tons; and we carried 703,988 passengers.

We are accepting freight and passengers for 411 different points west of Port Arthur. If I were dealing with Eastern as well as Western lines, I could tell you that the Canadian Northern has become the second largest railway in Canada. Only a chastened humility prevents me enlarging upon the fact that with 2,990 miles in the West actually in operation, 150 in Ontario, 531 in Quebec, and 431 in Nova Scotia, we have in all 4,059 miles in Canada, whereas the Grand Trunk Railway has in the Dominion 3,829 miles. I will leave the comparison at that.

To me, however, the most fascinating result of the past ten years of Western development is that the Canadian Northern system is responsible for the creation of over 150 townsites, of which at least 125 have been named by our officers, and at least 70,000 persons (exclusive of Winnipeg and other large centres) have found homes tributary to that Railway. I think it is reasonable to estimate that at least one-third of the growth of Winnipeg in this century is directly due to the business opened up by the Canadian Northern. Let me repeat, we claim no special credit for that. But even railway men are not devoid of the instincts of citizenship, and may be allowed to reflect without boasting that they have inaugurated communities wherein the instiutions of a free, strong and intelligent people may mature.

The railways which connect Winnipeg with populous Eastern Canada are Western lines, in as much as without them the West could not be served. They bind the East to the West and the West to the East as nothing else could. They are the abiding symbol of Canadian nationality, and, as they increase in number, they make the nationality the more abiding also. Geography has been liberal to us. It has laid a leviathan responsibility upon our shoulders. The lakes are the friend of the West in summer, but steel is its defence against the rigours of winter. The railways are more vital to the national prosperity than water, for rails can do without the help of navigation, but navigation, of itself, would be helpless against the forces that tend to an identity of interest between the Western United States and the Western Provinces. The function of railway transportation in the West, then, is to keep open communication with the East. On purely commercial grounds, it is infinitey more important to the East than to the West that it should be so. May we not say that that is true, also, as a matter of sentiment? It is not necessary to argue that the present day prosperity of Eastern Canada is the fruit of transportation in the West. It is conceded, on the one hand, that the rural population of Ontario has declined. On the other hand, the manufacturing population of Ontario has enlarged out of all proportion to the increase of Ontario's demand for Ontario-made goods; while the Winnipeg warehouses of Eastern manufacturers tell an eloquent story of the origin of modern Canadian growth and pay tribute in the fullest sense to the wisdom of the rail connection with the East. The supreme importance, then, of transportation to this aspect of our national growth is too obvious to be recounted.

If it is true that for Canadian solidarity there must be more, and still more, communication to and from the West, the principle is equally important Imperially.

Around this board you habituate yourselves to think Imperially. I venture to suggest to you that in the wise elucidation of transportation problems lies the premier aid to strengthening the ties that hold a loosely-compacted body politic together. While statesmen have discussed closer union by half a dozen means, the railways of Canada have opened up new country, which, within a decade, has afforded homes and new prospects to 400,000 British-born people, whose experience has doubly enriched the Empire through its reflex action upon the friends they left behind. There is room for millions more, thanks to the same pioneering agencies. It is not necessary to discuss the wisdom of "pumping them in" before you discern the immense worth, to the Empire as a whole, of the access that has been afforded the resources of the Dominion by the railways of the Dominion.

In the United Kingdom a great deal has been said of late years about the extreme need of having capable business men in public administrative positions. It would be impossible, I suppose, to run the Empire on the principle of strict accountability which governs transportation management. But if Governments made as good a job of dealing with new conditions as, on the whole, the railways do, I venture to believe there would be less complaining in the land, and fewer thorny and perplexing problems for members of Empire clubs to ponder. The statesmen have the advantage of us every time. Governments who do your imperial business will get all the money they need, and do not spend anxious nights trying to discover the relation of labour demands and of the increased cost of materials to net earnings. They produce pay-rolls as the precocious youngster told his sister the Lord produced kittens—the Lord just says, "Let there be kittens, and there are kittens."

We are beset by so many trials that we have scarcely time to complain. Our managers' offices become the constant Meccas of trainmen, trackmen, telegraphists, skilled and unskilled men, looking for more pay, and saying, "We can't be happy till we get it," while the hosts of men who serve the railways, and, on the whole serve them well, all the time desire to take more money from the till; the passengers, if two or three newspapers can be believed, want to put less in it. In the West there is a mile of railway for every 134 people. In Great Britain there is a mile for every 1,911 people, and perhaps 70 per cent. of the employees do not receive $5 a week, yet we are asked to carry passengers at the same rate as the English railways. Really, gentlemen, I think the statesmen who have only to say, "Let there be revenue," and there is revenue, are to be envied. But we have no time even to become envious, and are lucky to find the opportunity to tell part of the truth about ourselves. To-day I shall feel compensated for breaking out in an unfamiliar and dangerous *rôle* if I have assisted any of you to think more kindly of the railway enterprises that have brought some of the hidden treasures of the West to the generous hearths of the East, and to appreciate some of the difficulties that daily crowd upon them.

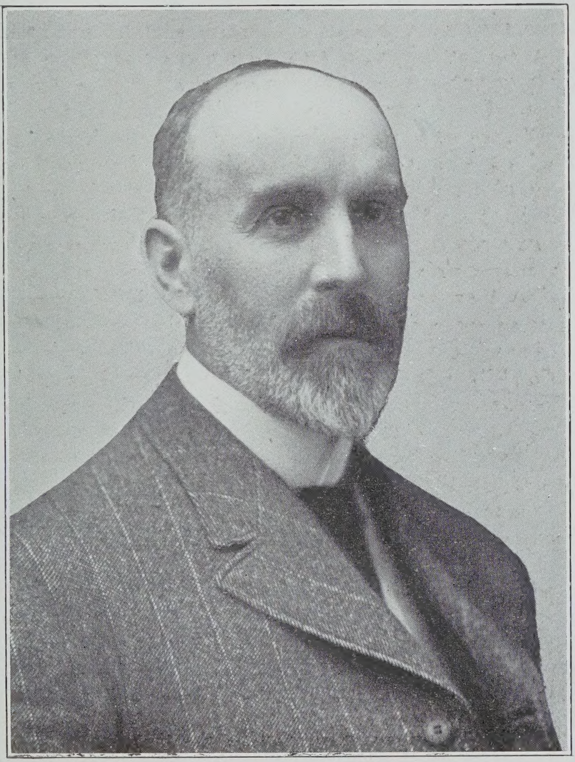
CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN CANADA.

Address by MR. J. S. WILLISON, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Editor of the Toronto *News*, before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 5th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Civil Service reform means, in brief, that appointments to the public service and promotions therein shall be determined by competitive examinations. It is not recommended as a perfect system. It is recommended as a vast improvement over the system of appointments by patronage committees and of the exercise of partisan pressure in order to effect promotions alike in the inside and in the outside services. It is not a new system which has still to be subjected to the test of experience and proved by results. It is the system which prevails in Great Britain, in all the chief Continental countries, and which covers nearly 200,000 of the 300,000 federal offices in the United States, which has been extended to the service in the Philippines, and which governs many of the appointments on the Panama Canal.

Mr. Gladstone once declared that, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had no more power to make an appointment in the Treasury Department than the most uninfluential voter in the United Kingdom. In the British Customs and Postal Departments there are special regulations against recourse to political influence. A candidate in whose behalf a member of Parliament intervenes is refused appointment or promotion, as the case may, if he cannot show that he was ignorant of the attempt to use political influence in his support. The American system is less rigid, and attempts at the exercise of political pressure are still common; but, in the main, political influence has been generally eliminated from the inside service, and there is a steady approach towards the adoption of the British system in its integrity.



Mr. John S. Willison, LL.D., F.R.S.C.
Editor-in-Chief of the Toronto *News*.

It will not be pretended, however, that the party system has been affected; that it is any more difficult to obtain workers in election contests; that there is less vigour in public controversy, or less devotion to the business of government. Instead, the nuisance of patronage is abated. Ministers and members are relieved of the intolerable importunities of the patronage element. The Government and the representatives of the people are permitted to devote themselves to consideration of the public business and the great questions of public policy which are the legitimate concern of Parliament. It is a reasonable assumption that nothing would induce the public men of Great Britain to restore the old patronage system, with its great train of evils and abuses, and it is certain that its restoration would affect the whole character of British public life, vitally lower the tone, and vitally impair the efficiency of the old mother of parliaments.

There are no darker days in British history than those in which a despotic monarch and a debauched parliament employed the public offices to destroy public freedom and control public policy. There is no page in American history so foul with corruption as when the public offices were made the spoil of party. The story is less sordid in Canada, but here, too, the administration of patronage has been a fruitful source of public evils, an intolerable nuisance to sensitive, honourable, high-minded ministers and members, and a noxious, evil-smelling thing to patriotic citizens who turn from the mean practices and the mercenary considerations which it brings into public life with weariness and disgust. Some of you may feel that this is strong language, and that it is not warranted by the conditions which prevail in Canada. Some of you, perhaps, would protest in the language of a certain Western bridegroom. When he was required to repeat after the clergyman, " I take this woman to be my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, until death do us part," he interrupted with a touch of anger, "There ain't no use makin' the outlook of this weddin' so darn gloomy." But, whatever may be the measure of our political evils, and it is not my purpose to denounce public men or to use a word which can have any partisan significance, there is surely a crying need for reform of the Civil Service in Canada and for the protection of honest and efficient public officers from the spoils element which corrupts and bedevils the administration of public affairs.

When we consider that the Government controls appointments to the Intercolonial Railway Service, to the Postal Service, and to the Customs Service, controls the vast patronage of the Interior Department, controls appointments to the Supreme Court and to the provincial courts, selects the governors of the provinces and appointments to the Senate, generally on strict grounds of party service, we get some idea of what powerful influences it possesses to compel obedience within the party; to hold in subjection senatorial aspirants who look for a life refuge, with social dignity and a respectable annuity; to command the support of legal members of the House of Commons and of members of the legal profession outside who may aspire to places on the bench; and to discipline other members of the House by withdrawing their control of patronage in their own constituencies. No such enormous reserve of power can wisely be reposed in any government, and we who criticize the men by whom it is administered probably would do no better if its disposition was in our hands. It is the system we attack. We believe that under any administration it must yield its natural results. So far as I know, no country in the world reposes such a vast patronage in the hands of its Government as does this Confederation, and it is remarkable that this feature of our system was not more deeply considered by the founders of the constitution.

If, in addition to the patronage which it now controls, an administration at Washington had also the sole power to make appointments to the Senate and to appoint the state governors and the state judges throughout the whole Republic, there would be established under the form of free institutions such an autocracy as the world never saw; and yet that is very much our situation in Canada. It is for this reason that I contend that reform of the Senate should go hand in hand with reform of the Civil Service, for to vest in any group of Ministers who for the moment control the House of Commons the power to create a co-ordinate legislative body means inevitably a dependent second chamber, and as certainly affects the independence of the elected body. In short, we shall strive in vain to maintain a fair average of independent citizenship, and to ensure independence and integrity in Parliament, while the high places on the bench, the seats in the Senate, and the public offices generally are treated as the private property of party and disbursed as the rewards of partisan docility, of partisan activity, or of partisan criminality. " All patronage of all descriptions," said Sir Robert Peel, " so far from being of the least advantage personally to a minister, involves him in nothing but embarrassment." But it is the strong fortress of the boss and the very temple of the machine.

Once, through some extraordinary operation of Divine Providence, the Republicans carried Kentucky in the state elections, and a veteran soldier of the grand old party, who had been voting straight for nearly a generation, came down to the capital in order to see if there was any prospect that his faith and zeal would be rewarded. He hung around for weeks in more or less splendid isolation, but finally mounted his old grey mare, turned her head towards the mountains, and said to a bystander as he rode away: " If you hear of any office that seems to be seeking the man, just say that Jim Stokes is riding down the Pike road, and that he's going d—n slow." But the Jim Stokeses seldom return on such an invitation in any community where the patronage system prevails. The partisans ride out for the offices, and they go in whole battalions. Ministers of the Crown will tell you that patronage is an intolerable nuisance. There are few representatives of constituencies but will make the same confession. Not five per cent. of the electorate are interested in the offices. The zeal of this busy element is often a cause of scandal and confusion.

We have no greater infusion of mercenary patriotism than other communities. It is not true that devotion to public affairs must necessarily be stimulated by office and emoluments. The civil servant is entitled to the same security of employment, the same chance of promotion, the same reward for industry and efficiency, as the rest of us enjoy in our various pursuits, and this he cannot have while the public offices are treated as the spoil of party and the high places of the service are reserved for untrained politicians who must be fitted for their duties by the very men whom they supplant. At the best, the area of patronage can only be restricted, for judicial appointments, the appointments to public commissions, to lieutenant-governorships, and to various other places of great trust and dignity, can be made only by government, and in all of these political considerations will always be more or less influential. But it is seldom that scandal arises out of this class of appointments. It is not here that the chief evils of patronage exist. They lie in general partisan interference in the inside service, in general partisan control of the outside service, in the activity of patronage committees, in the management of party caucuses and party conventions by the office-hunting element.

A strong and independent civil service makes for honesty, as well as for efficiency, in the public administration. It cannot be disputed that contracts are not always fairly awarded, that specifications are not always observed, that the system of purchase by contract is often disregarded, that favouritism obtains in many branches of the service, that supplies are handled by greedy and unscrupulous middlemen, and extortionate prices exacted. All this is facilitated by feeble or dishonest ministers and by a dependent civil service. Much of this would be impossible under a permanent non-partisan service independent of unfaithful ministers, fearless of greedy political brokers, and responsible to a

Civil Service Board for the honest conduct of the public business. The reform is demanded in the interest of the service, in the interest of public morals, in the interest of national efficiency. It is true that all the evils of our politics will not be eradicated by the establishment of a permanent non-partisan civil service and the disappearance of patronage as a stimulus to political activity, but at least there would be a great increase of independent action in the constituencies, public men would be relieved from dependence upon the mercenary element which now exercises a baneful authority in the political organizations, the civil service would be greatly strengthened in character and efficiency, the independence of parliament would be materially enhanced, and the great and serious problems of administration and high political debate upon broad questions of policy and principle would become the chief business of statesmen and the people.

FORCES AT WORK IN INDIA AND THE FAR EAST.

Address by the REV. DR. R. P. MCKAY, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 24th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

One does not travel very far in the East until he begins to feel grateful that he is a British subject. You begin to feel the influence of Britain, indeed, when you are passing through the Continent of Europe. As one man in Palestine said to me: "I wish England would do for Palestine what she has done for Egypt." Just while I was there there were some of the chief men of the tribes in prison, and they were imprisoned for the reason that the Governor went to them and said, "You must raise this year twice as much in taxes as last year," and they said, "The people cannot do it." "Well, they must do it," the man replied. "We cannot." "Well, it means imprisonment." That is Turkish rule, and you find the best people of Palestine passing into Egypt, because of the British rule in Egypt. You find, also, as you come across the ocean towards India that one of the principal topics of conversation is Britain's position in India—what she has done and what the opportunities of the future are to be. You are constantly in touch with that question; you meet it everywhere; and, although we have been reading a great deal recently about India. I do not know that any of us can fully appreciate the greatness of the problem until we see the country. I had no conception of the magnitude of that country and of that problem until I set my eyes upon it.

India is as great, almost, as the whole of Europe. It has older nationalities, older nobilities, older religions, and it has older hostilities. You find these great nationalities have been fighting each other for centuries, and England had to come in and deal with the problem.

For instance, I have often heard when speaking about the dissatisfaction of the Bengalese, this statement, "Oh! that is only one province!" but you must remember that the population of Bengal is twice the population of France. You are dealing with an immense community when you are simply dealing with one province. There are many other provinces, and they are all great, and England had to come in and deal with that problem. "What has she done?" This is one of the first questions you will ask these people who criticize England. "Has not England justified her presence there?" One of the things she did was to introduce peace. The princes were always at war with one another in the past, and to-day there is not a prince in India who dares invade the territory of his neighbour but at the risk of his throne and his liberty. There is not a man, from the highest noble to the humblest highwayman, but knows that if he does wrong he does it at the risk of punishment; so that all recognize that England has done a very great thing for India when she has compelled peace all over the Empire.

And yet, you know, there are a large number of people in India who do not place a very high value upon that. They used to be at liberty to do as they pleased. There was a career open to a man of energy. Any man that had a sword and an arm to wield it in the past could hew his way to a throne, it might be, and could get all that an Asiatic admires in the way of palace and paraphernalia and retainers and the adulation of the subject, etc. He could do as he pleased if he were strong enough. It was a great campus, upon which every man contended for the mastery. Now everything has become flat and uninteresting. Here are three hundred princes, with practically nothing to do. In connection with their palaces, I have seen elephants kept for state occasions, standing there bound, swaying from side to side, with nothing to do. You read Kipling's story of the jungle and the elephants there, and you feel the painful contrast. That is the prince of India to-day, the subject of British authority. I have had the privilege and pleasure of spending some time in the company of one of these men. One of them was just within a month or two of reaching his majority, when he would come to the throne. He was simply the creature of a British official. He was compelled to go through a certain course of education, and when he is placed upon his throne he has to do just as he is bid. You can understand the impatience of these people. Some of the families are older than the oldest British families. You can understand the feeling that must exist among that class of people. Associated with that is this one complaint, "We have lost all our national spirit."

India was the greatest architectural country in the world. The finest architecture man has ever produced was produced in India. You find great temples—one covers fourteen acres. I have seen one hall there where there are a thousand pillars, each one carved into some mythical representation of their religion. The people of India say: "We have come into the wooden age. We have lost the golden age, because we have come under British domination." They forget that a temple was twenty-two years in the building, that men were drafted at intervals to do the work, and that all the work was forced labour, which cost nothing, and that the temple cost twenty million dollars in addition to that. The Asiatic is not much troubled with sympathy or pity for people who suffer. It is true that there never will be again in India such buildings erected, simply because there will never again be forced labour, so far as British influence will go; and so in other respects.

"Did not England give you justice?" I had a long conversation with a very intelligent young Hindu, and he told me a great many things, and I have discussed many points with him. I said: "Did not they give you justice? Does not Britain give every man justice? You can get justice—the humblest man as well as the greatest." He said: "Yes; that is true." And yet, to an Asiatic, that does not mean as much as it should. To the Asiatic the prince rules by Divine right, and he can go at any time to him and look for redress. They say you go to a British court and you may not get your case into the court for six months, or perhaps six years, and you may have to pay a fee when it is all over that is greater than the amount involved in the case. They do not think anything of sifting evidence, for example. They do not think about a specialist in ferreting out justice. They want it at once. When I was in China, rolling along in a chair, one of the easiest and most comfortable and cheapest methods of travelling in China, a lady met me, She was bleeding down her arms, and had evidently been in some trouble. She saw me and thought I was a mandarin. She dropped, and touched her forehead to the earth, and was immediately going to submit her grievances. That is the right of every Easterner, and that is a specimen of what is occurring in the East all the time. That does not accord with British methods. British methods are very much better, but they do not understand them there.

It is the same with regard to fiscal justice. I told you how forced labour was once used for their great public works. The same thing is true in every other respect. There is never such a thing as a tax levied as we understand it. Some man says, " We want from your district so much money." and they will send it in. If the governor wants one pound, the under official will collect two, and the other one will be his own. I said to one of these men, " What do you think of the British in Egypt?" He said: " We like the British." " Why?" " Because we know now how much taxes we have to pay, and we have to pay them only once a year." That is what has been occurring everywhere. There was no such thing as justice. The people were the creatures of those in authority. The people submitted, and yet they would go back to the old condition to-day. There is some kind of Asiatic loyalty to the past that would bring them to do it. There are to-day about forty-five millions of acres in India that have been irrigated through British enterprise. Some of the rivers are literally exhausted in irrigating the soil. I was speaking to an engineer, and I said: " What about watering the whole country just as you are watering these districts?" He said: "There is water enough to water the whole country, but it is underground, and you must dig for it, and it is expensive." We now have those forty-five million acres redeemed, and they are pushing work in other parts of India, and have already spent $150,000,000 in that one department alone. And so in other respects.

People say: "Will there be another mutiny in India?" No; there can never be another mutiny. If there is going to be disaster it will not be in the way of mutiny. Formerly there were only four hundred miles of railway; now there are twenty-eight thousand miles. Then it took three or four months to get from Calcutta to Delhi. Now you can do it in three or four days, and so the Government has the whole thing completely under their hand; and, as far as any outbreak is concerned, it is an impossibility. So with education. The people had no education before British control. To-day thousands of people graduate from the colleges and schools every year. And that is one of the bitter things of the past year or two. Lord Curzon passed a bill making it more expensive and difficult to get a degree in the universities. Many of the Hindus resented this very bitterly. They said: "It is trying to prevent us getting education. We want everybody to be educated." I said: "What is going to follow?" "Why, independence. We want to be independent." I said: "Suppose England went out to-day; what would you do?" "We don't want England to go out to-day. We could not yet govern ourselves." But they look forward to independence.

The caste system must be got rid of. I was riding with a young Hindu, and we had a good deal of interesting conversation with regard to the caste system. I had the pleasure of dining with a rajah and local agent of the Governor-General, and he admitted the foolishness of this system of caste. There is not an educated family in India but thinks it is foolish, but the time has not come for its breaking up. The time will come, and they will get rid of it. As one of these young men said to me: "I have given up caste; I have given up all religion, for that matter; our only religion to-day is our country." What will happen in the future is that they will get unified and educated, and be able to do what we are doing—able to govern themselves. Well, now, England is doing all this, and doing it generously—I think, doing it righteously. Of course, she has made her mistakes. In answer to my question, "Can you give me an explanation of the irritation in India to-day?" an Englishman on my ship said: "Although England has made mistakes, there is not upon the face of the earth to-day a better government than the government of England in India." I think that is true.

There is another thing. I think the British people are making a mistake in this way: You know we have been very prosperous as a nation, and we hold our heads a little high, and find it difficult to be congenial to other people; and the result is that we have not personally won these people, although we have sought to treat them rightly. The British have not won the love of the people because they have kept them at arm's length and treated them as a conquered race. A young man said to me: "I like to do business with the Englishman in his own country—in London, in Paris; but when the Britisher comes to India he leaves his manners behind." Every young man who goes to India gets his appointment by examination. He may be comparatively low grade socially. He wants to do the best he can for himself, socially as well as in every other way, when he gets to India, and so he puts on airs, and is apt to do foolish things. The poor people, who would look up to him and would be grateful for kindnesses, receive curtness and hostility. I was speaking to the chaplain in Calcutta of the National Scotch Church there. He was an interesting gentleman, and I asked him: "Do you see much in Calcutta of this irritation?" He said: "It is very much in our own hands. I was reading a newspaper in the street car the other day about some trouble in Africa. There was a Hindu on the seat beside me, and he said to me: 'Has that trouble in South Africa been settled?' 'Oh! yes; it was not anything very important. The troublesome people are under arrest, and all is over.' He said: 'I am glad to hear that. I notice that you are a gentleman.' 'What do you mean?' He said: 'If I spoke to some other people in that way they would not answer me.' 'Don't you think you are making too much of that? You think the British people are not interested in you.' 'No; it is not imagination. If I sit on a bench in the park beside an Englishman, he will get up and leave the bench.'"

That is the spirit that is developing, and it is developing very largely through the thing of which I am speaking. I asked another man one day: "Is there any trouble up here?" He said: "No; we have no trouble here." I said: "How is that?" He said: "We have a beautiful man here; a splendid officer of the Government. He treats everybody kindly, and everybody likes him." That is the explanation.

Then, of course, this must be taken into account: you know that sometimes people are a little timid as to what may be coming and are apt to be a little obsequeious. For instance, Lord Curzon, in addressing some of the natives away up at Delhi one day, said, "I would advise you not to give up your own religion, not to become Christians, but to stick to your religion." Here is a Christian man, by name at least, and he is talking to a heathen community. You know that, whatever else the people in India believe, they believe in religion, and when a man comes professing to be a Christian and disowns his own religion he discounts himself and the Government which he represents. A man once said, "I think India would be Christian but for the fact that the British Government does not want it." They have that impression, notwithstanding that the British Government is a Christian Government and is conducted on Christian lines. The Government is afraid that it may seem to be partial, and it is apt to go to the other extreme.

There is another thing. Just think, here is a country of 300,000,000 people. Here are these great nationalities, very ancient races, with an ancient nobility, and they are governed by what? By a little company of Britishers that number less than 2,000. They have 60,000 or 65,000 British troops, but the rest of the army is native, and they know, since 1857, that the native army is not to be relied upon in any kind of trouble. And this is the little garrison that supports an officialdom of between 1,500 and 2,000; and more than that, these Britishers do not take root, they do not belong to the country, every man is pensioned at the age of sixty, goes back to England and lives on his pension. No man marries and educates a family in India. No old men are there who have had experience and who give the benefit of their experience. Such a thing has never been known in the world's history, and these people see it. They say that it is not natural. They say, "We ought to govern ourselves; we pay for it, and we are as able as they. We are prepared to enter into examination contest with any of you." And they can do it. Now, of course, as I have said, it is not going to come in the form of a mutiny. The great cry to-day is this, "We must have office" and they are getting the offices more and more. They are getting them rapidly, and the probability is that the change will come in that direction; that they will so far control the offices of the country that they will control the country. What will come of it one cannot tell. There must be some other policy adopted if their sentiment is to be changed so that they would reluctantly give up contact with the power that has controlled them.

I have talked of the forces of the East—of England in India. In the East a magnificent game is being played. Here you have that vast country China, one of the most wonderfully beautiful countries in this world. I have seen nothing in the way of agricultural country that I could talk of in comparison with the resources of China. That vast country lying there and governing itself, almost without government, moving along all these centuries—self-government in the fullest sense. Here are the Powers watching like eagles watching their prey. England at first was supreme. She ruled the whole East from Hong Kong, and she was very astute. When she got possession of that little place she controlled all the shipping of the East until the year 1895. Then there came the war between China and Japan, and Japan won, while Russia and France and Germany went in and robbed her of her prize. Russia took Port Arthur, and England in return seized a coaling station in the north. Now England is in competition with all the other Powers, where formerly she reigned supreme. Then came the "open door" controversy. Everybody began to pledge himself to the integrity of China, and that there should be an open door in trade and equal opportunities for all. Then the question of spheres of influence, a proposal made by Germany. Germany did not want to oppose the open door policy; she wanted to undermine it, and made a proposal that China should be sliced up and each take a share. She even went so far as to get out maps indicating the sphere of each. In the meantime the United States had assumed control of the Philippines. She went back to the open door problem and advocated that. The sphere of influence idea was dropped, and the open door policy was adopted. By and by the British alliance with Japan came about, and that is the greatest factor in it all. That controls the East to-day. That is the one power that steadies the whole business —that Japan and England stand together for weal and for woe.

That is the problem. Great changes are taking place in China and Korea. I preached to a congregation in a church that would seat 1,500 people, and that church was full of men, and then that congregation adjourned and the church was full of women. In one town but a very few years ago there were no Christians at all. Now the whole country is turning over. What we would like to do to-day is to give these people a higher religious standard, give them better ethics, for that is the lack of all Eastern countries and all Eastern religions. Go down and see them at work, look down into the pit, and it is a fearful pit—it is miry clay. As a matter of fact the ethics of these Eastern religions are diabolical. They are vile as sin can make them. The missionaries are going in, and I am glad to find that the best of our newspapers have completely changed their attitude toward Christian missions.

The North China *Times,* published in Shanghai, is one of the strongest advocates of the Christian religion. You find even the London *Times,* of which Dr. Morrison is the Eastern representative, and which a few years ago was the enemy of missions, is now strongly in their favour. Dr. Morrison saw the missionaries and native Christians at work, and he formed such a favourable impression that from that day to this he has been the avowed friend of missions in the East, and the London *Times* is his exponent. If there has ever been in the world's history a time that is full of importance, it is this very hour in the East. The change is just about to come—some change or other. We are upon the eve of great results, and if we could just now send our Christian influence to mould it, control it, and give it direction, the future for ourselves, as well as for the East, would be very much more secure. We have touched the East at a hundred points, commercially, especially in the way of tariffs. What we want is to get beyond these commercial walls, behind them, and put a better sentiment, a Christian sentiment, into these countries, and we will find our relations with these people much more happy and satisfactory.

CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY FROM A CANADIAN VIEW-POINT.

Address by MR. W. P. ARCHIBALD, Dominion Parole Officer, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 30th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

It would be an act of presumption to attempt to treat exhaustively in a single address so comprehensive a subject as criminal anthropology; for a thorough consideration of the subject involves studies in zoology, human and comparative anatomy, physiological treatment, normal or morbid, and pathological psychology. Likewise, a review of the social customs of man from primeval periods down to the present time. There has been so much said and written, especially during the past half century, about the betterment and reformation of the criminal, that if words, or plans, or specifications, could have accomplished it, the criminal world of to-day would have been transformed. But it has not been so, simply because, "theory has never made a barrel out of a bung-hole," and there are grave doubts now entertained if it ever will. The criminal is a factor in human life and he is here to stay, and it is a fact that we find him stolidly staying, despite the law, the police, the reformatories, the penitentiaries, and all efforts philanthropic made for his betterment; notwithstanding all the barking done to frighten him, all the love lavished to save him, and all the moral and religious analysis to which he has been subjected. He stays, and the only time one of a certain class of criminals doesn't stay is after he has undergone a post mortem examination for heart disease, the effect of suspended sentence on a rope from the gallows.

Criminal bacteria develop when nourished by the best blood of society. They fatten on crowded civilization. A community of criminals without feeding ground would soon die for want of nourishment. Our Canadian cities are the hot-beds for the production of these obnoxious excresences. The communities of honest and upright men (if such exist) must, as far as possible, undertake to solve the criminal problem. The press could take up the question with ungloved but patriotic hands, and give the public something more than the sensational side of criminal life. The pulpit could touch these unpalatable truths more than once a year, even should it prove necessary to use a disinfectant in stirring up a community of worshippers on vital ethics and accepted conduct in life. The general public should become more interested in criminalogical and penological questions, for no reform of any value can be successfully accomplished without the co-operation of society, irrespective of creed or nationality.

Then again, the importance of full and complete materials necessary for the study of crime cannot be overestimated. The work of our criminal courts and of our penitentiaries affords an opportunity for the study of a number of vital problems which affect the whole life and future of our Dominion. The frequency of offences serves as a barometer reflecting the moral state of our communities, and the form which crime assumes reveals the weakly construction of our social organisms. The personal characteristics of the criminal, if studied, give us the form or motive force of their attack. The repetition of crime by the same individuals shows clearly how faulty is the treatment administered. Why should an individual offender be punished, "thirty days, or a dollar and costs," five, ten, fifteen, and as high as twenty, times a year, swelling the volume of crime, when it is the individual who counts twenty offences committed, and the punishment acts as an incentive to crime rather than a cure or a deterrent? Could not a sentence be added to a recidivist criminal who is determined to live and thrive by crime that would at least make some little impression on the delinquent?

A number of general and special problems are attached to the study of crime, but our material for its study is scanty and inadequate. I think I am rational in saying that the treatment of the prisoner and his crime suffers more from a general ignorance and apathy than from any public opposition based upon logic, or from a knowledge of the situation. He who handles facts with intelligence, even though an opponent, can do better service to the cause of penology, than he who knows it all and is generally filled with fad notions and prejudices about imprisonment and the treatment of the criminal. We are prone to follow popular tendencies rather than to lead public sentiment and opinion in the right direction, and I would, as far as I possibly could, educate the public on these growing and absorbing questions. We must not be blind to the advances made and to the general interest manifested lately by the best minds of the Dominion in penological matters, and this fact is an incentive and an encouragement to those who have these vital questions always at heart.

There is the Annual Report of the Inspectors of our penitentiaries, throwing the light and the experience of years upon the treatment of the criminal as well as practical matters of the penitentiaries, a review of offences and punishments, and the general effect of imprisonment. Yet, I doubt if the people even consider the report seriously, much less study for themselves, and form an independent opinion on these questions affecting the general and vital interests of the state. Only a few months ago I met a man, while travelling, who is supposed to be posted on public matters, and in conversation he said: "We should have farm lands and have them cultivated by the prisoners of the penitentiaries. We should have advanced trades taught of high-grade industry, and adopt the classification of our prisoners." My reply was rather a surprise. We already have large farms well cultivated, good trade instructors, and varied industries; and what he termed advanced classification has resulted, where it has been tried, in giving but little satisfaction in the management of our institutions. Conduct in prison is an unsafe index to real character.

The study of crime is essential to the problems of our social life and the certain bases of operation produce good and lasting results. First is the basis of individual analysis. In painstaking fidelity one must study, at first hand, the criminal, his mental, normal and physical peculiarities, his parents, their character, environment of his home life, his companionship and the first steps made in the criminal life. Following this system we locate the beginning of his crime, and get to the base of heredity or environment. However valuable this study may be, however absorbingly interesting the study of pathological humanity, it cannot of itself be made the basis of repressive measures until corroborated and reinforced by such a number of similar instances as will prove the case normal and not exceptional. On this basis we must then fall back on figures. The observation of large numbers is necessary and a system is not complete until it has embraced all possible cases. The larger the number, the more trustworthy the results. The object of statistics is to prove on a larger scale what in a limited field may have been surmised. All figures given should reflect the bare truth of the situation, and their proof is a necessity to the researches of criminal anthropology. The individual analysis is largely experimental and apt to over-reach the limits of possibility, but with statistics we grasp general truths. Both should develop side by side.

Allow me to call attention to some of the results obtained from figures. Comparing the number of criminals with the population from year to year, we observe how passion and immorality grow or decrease. By comparing different crimes with each other we learn the shape or form they take in the passions; by comparing the crimes with the punishments, in different sections of the Dominion, we learn how popular opinions will estimate the gravity of specific offences; by comparing one Province with another, we learn the peculiarities of the moral condition of each. Those who look at the diversity of sentences or punishments are apt to become entangled in a mass of exceptional anomalies. We can by the proper combination of data, trace the connection of race, age, sex, social condition and other circumstances with the commission of crime. By this means valuable material is furnished upon which is based the treatment of crime by the Court and by the penal institutions. All cannot be accomplished in a day. Hard tasks are given to those who are willing to solve them, and it is much better in the final analysis to have it shown that your toil and your devotion have been worked out on strong and righteous principles, even if but little result is perceptible, than to get some sensational reform fad and work a life-time to do a little selfish thing and then fade into oblivion.

What then are the factors which enter into the reformation of criminals, and to what extent does the reformation of a criminal depend on religion? The elements which enter into reformation are: good treatment, a strong and healthy discipline, fair dealing, the criminal's recognition of his own criminality, his desire and willingness to reform, a recognition of the criminal as a human being by outside society, and a recognition by the hand of justice that, while it is necessary and just to punish crime, yet the clemency of a parole is not to be withheld from any really hopeful case. There are occasions when the criminal is only an offender against human law, and may cease from offending by his own act and become reconciled to such law, independent of influence or religion. Men cease to do evil in limited ways without religious motives, but the limits of all such reforms are narrow. When persons are criminal in thought and intent, they need a thorough change to make their thoughts and motives pure. When the turpitude of individuals is greater than the evil of their acts (which is generally the case), then is the basis of their reformation dependent upon a higher force than is found in the human heart to make the change thorough, complete and permanent. The function of true religion in the human heart is to overthrow the evil and bring the thought and the life into touch with the Creator. Christ said on this matter: " Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind" and the second is like unto it, "Thou shall love they neighbor as thyself." "Upon these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

Complete and sure reform is dependent upon the religion of these two commandments. Obedience to the first puts man right with his Maker, obedience to the second puts a man in right relationship with his fellows. Under the sway of these two commandments no crime could exist, for it is an utter impossibility for a man to commit a crime and love his neighbor as himself. If a person is a criminal, he ceases to be such the moment he can love his Creator with all his heart and his neighbor as himself. If religion is a necessity then for those who are not criminals, is it not essential for those who are? Religious workers are prone to overlook all other systems but their own, and maudlin sentimentalists have no use for law, Divine or human. Any system that is not operating in touch with the whole law or body politic is a hindrance rather than a help in the reformation and the rehabilitation of our convicts. There should be harmony and sympathy between all efforts if we are to expect lasting and beneficial results from the general treatment.

From one of the German works on pathological research I quote the following synopsis which will throw light on this special treatment: "Human conduct is a resultant of the human organism and of energy. The apparatus by which purposive movements are actuated is the nervous system, and also, the muscles into which the nerve fibre is so intimately interlaced. These act only when stimulated by some form or force, not steadily employed, but in shock or in a number of shocks. Of force, the brain is rated as an accumulator or distributor of energy, while the nerves and channels are vehicles and avenues in which it is conveyed. Energy is stored along the nerve cells and transmitted along the series of molecules in manner as the impulse is communicated from one billiard ball to another. The channels into which currents frequently pass are channels which have become, from the operation of this channel, worn to the appropriate calibre, and able to convey the accustomed currents without leakage. The repetition of impressions stimulating the flow of energy between centres enlarges and adjusts the channel until the sympathy between them becomes thoroughly organized, and the course of action becomes habitual, resulting in new modes of reaction from the course of thought or a new conduct."

From this argument, the activity of the highest nerve centres are operated by a nerve current, set in motion by sense-perception, which is attended by a corresponding variation on the mental activities. Molecular changes in what we call mind or nerve currents are attended by changes in what we call feelings, volitions, or ideas, and it is constantly affirmed that there is no mental condition without a nervous process. The evolution of character, then, and the reformation of it, is but the creation of habitudes, which might be placed in the following order: impressions, repetition, practice, custom, propensity, habit, habitude or character. The doctrine of tissue degeneration, whether atavistic or by environment, as in a case of anti-social conduct, is attracting attention, especially in Europe, and while there are different schools of criminal anthropology, they all agree that the source of conduct, including criminal conduct, is to be sought for in the material substance of a being and is to be found in an undeveloped, dormant, or diseased nerve tissue. This system then begins the work of reforming a man by the scientific application of treatment to the life physical, with modern appliances when such treatment is required.

I have been led to the opinion, lately, that the real criminal, he of subjective criminous character, must be treated scientifically as well as from the lofty viewpoint of religion. Both, if administered rightly, harmonize and produce good results. Both have their place in the reconstruction and redemption of delinquent humanity. The state has to do with all that tends to public welfare, whether domestic, social or political, and therefore, directly or indirectly, it has to deal with its defective members. We must look to and hold individuals responsible for an accepted life or conduct according to the community's ideals of citizenship. The loosening of a single stone in a mighty foundation may be slow in bringing down the whole wall, but it will accomplish this destruction in the course of time, unless repairs be made. So in society, whether domestic, civil or political. The imperfections of the individual must affect and tell on the whole fabric of life. Therefore, when we find it necessary to punish any member of the human family, we should have in view his correction, also to punish sufficiently to make the lesson lasting and a deterrent to others who may be like tempted. One of the best agencies operated by the Dominion authorities will be found by a careful study of the Parole system, and while we can hardly hope for the remarkable percentage to hold as good in the future extension and development of this system, the principle of conditional liberation has proven beyond a doubt, without prejudice, to be sane and beneficial. The following figures give the operation of this law since its inception in Canada, some eight years ago, and form a digest for those interested in the reformation of our criminal classes:

Number of prisoners released on parole for year ending March 31st, 1907—

Penitentiaries.		
Dorchester	41	
Kingston	38	
St. Vincent de Paul	32	
Manitoba	31	
British Columbia	9	
Alberta	6	
		157

Number of prisoners released from jails, prisons and reformatories—

Central Prison	40	
Quebec Jail	14	
Montreal Jail	13	
Regina Jail	12	
Reformatories for boys	6	
Mercer Reformatory (women)	3	
County jails and other institutions	40	
		128
Total		285

Cancellations and forfeitures during the year	5
Sentences completed during the year	147
Sentences not completed	138
Operation—	
Number of paroles cancelled for non-compliance with conditions	87
Number of paroles forfeited by subsequent conviction	33
Number of sentences completed on parole	995
Number of sentences not yet completed	530
	1,645

Total number of paroles granted from year 1899 to March 31st, 1907—

Penitentiaries	1,056
Jails, prisons, etc.	589
	1,645

SYNOPSIS FROM THE INSPECTOR'S REPORT ON PENITENTIARIES, YEAR ENDED MARCH 31ST, 1907.

Daily average population of the penitentiaries—

Year.		Year.		Year.	
1902-3	1,224	1904-5	1,359	1906-7	1,433
1903-4	1,286	1905-6	1,497	....	....

Educational—

Penitentiaries.	No. who can read and write.	No. who can read only.	No. who cannot read or write.	Total.
Kingston	377	3	78	458
St. Vincent de Paul	276	37	89	402
Dorchester	157	12	25	194
Manitoba	156	4	15	175
British Columbia	115	2	20	137
Alberta	47	..	10	57
				1,423

NOTE.—The number of absolutely illiterate is equal to about seventeen per cent., while not more than ten per cent. have the advantage of a good common school education.

Civil condition.		Moral habits.	
Married	434	Total abstainers	201 or 14%
Single	948	Temperate	630 or 44%
Widowed	41	Intemperate	592 or 42%

AGE.		AGE.	
Under 20 years	156	Over 40 and under 50	171
Over 20 and under 30	631	" 50 " 60	86
" 30 " 40	344	" 60 years	35

NOTE.—Lads under 20 years of age constitute eleven per cent. of the total.

Nationality.

British—Canada	873	
Great Britain and Ireland	221	
Other British countries	14	
	——	1,108
Foreign—		
United States	150	
Italy	33	
Austria-Hungary	25	
Russia	21	
Germany	19	
Denmark	17	
Norway and Sweden	15	
Foreign—		
China	14	
France	11	
Japan	3	
Other countries	7	
	——	315
		——
Total		1,423

	Number of convicts.	Percentage of prison population.	Number to each 10,000 of population.
Coloured	51	3.6	29.8
Mongolian	17	1.2	7.7
Indian halfbreed	21	1.4	6.0
Indian	36	2.5	3.8
White	1,298	91.2	2.4

Much has been said against the immigration of the Japanese, but will some of these agitators take a look at the percentage of the Japanese in our prisons, and compare them carefully with our coloured population and their quota of criminals. Some fifty years ago, when care for the unfortunate imbecile and the idiotic first laid hold of the scientific spirit, a young man went to Paris to study how to treat those in the prison-house of despairing imbecility. On his return he advertised for the most hopeless victim of mental and bodily weakness, and in answer they brought to him one who answered the conditions in every way, a child who was simply animated flesh, unable to walk, to stand, to sit or to talk. He could only lie in dumb imbecility, having been born so, and as far as their treatment went he would have remained so to the end. The young man put him in his own bed, and lay by his side every day for an hour to try and awaken dormant life or feeling, if such existed, by the touch of another life. For six weeks his toil was unrewarded. One day as he lay beside the imbecile child, being weary, he omitted to read to him, as had been his custom while watching his companion. Suddenly the child stirred, and when the physician turned to him, the child touched his lips with his fingers. He had missed the human voice. The dead began to live. Life and intelligence gradually came from out their grave, evoked by a human touch and a human voice, and by a devoted patience. The first sign of feeling was the beginning of an education which transformed the idiot child into an intelligent boy, able to speak and read, and to answer historical questions before an audience in which stood the distinguished prelate who relates this amazing story.

So will the human heart and intelligence respond to the touch of kindness and devotion even among the most depraved and degenerate of our criminals. Have we not the right to expect that the treatment of the criminal should represent the best thought and the best experience of our age? Just in proportion as we expect our public schools and hospitals to express what we Canadians are at our best, so the treatment of our delinquent forces forms the criterion of our national character and our general standing in civilization. My thought in conclusion is this—that God is just as truly in every process of reform, from the humblest and the simplest effort to the highest and most profound study and research made through the science of psychology or pathology for the treatment of the criminal; and while there may be varied avenues of approach or attack on criminality in its loathsome, heinous, and destructive forms in the human family, there is unity of effort in all and something accomplished, though not to the extent we desire, in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of our anti-social fellow citizens.

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE LAST WEST.

Address by MR. JOHN T. HALL, Commissioner of Industries at Medicine Hat, Alta., before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 6th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

What do I mean by the last West. I mean practically the Province of Alberta. To be a great manufacturing centre, an adequate supply of fuel is necessary, and there is an abundance of coal right from the southern boundary to the Peace River Valley. That is one of the requisites for the development of the country. There is also a little belt about 100 miles long and 50 miles wide which is one of the most prolific gas fields of the North American continent. During the recent municipal elections throughout the Province of Ontario it has struck me that the all-absorbing question was the question of electric power. You were told that you were going to get power for about $18.50 per h.p. per annum. We can develop power in the Alberta gas district for $2.40 per h.p. per annum for a 10-hour day. A great many people will hardly believe that, but it is a fact. In connection with this I will say that your Industrial Commissioner passed through Medicine Hat, and he dubbed it "The City of Eternal Light." It is the city where the gas is never turned out. It seems a waste of gas not to turn it out, but it is cheaper to keep it burning. Gas there is so cheap that the great expense in connection with the lighting is in the mantles. Breakage of the mantles takes place when the gas is lighted, and that is the reason that the gas is never turned out in Medicine Hat.

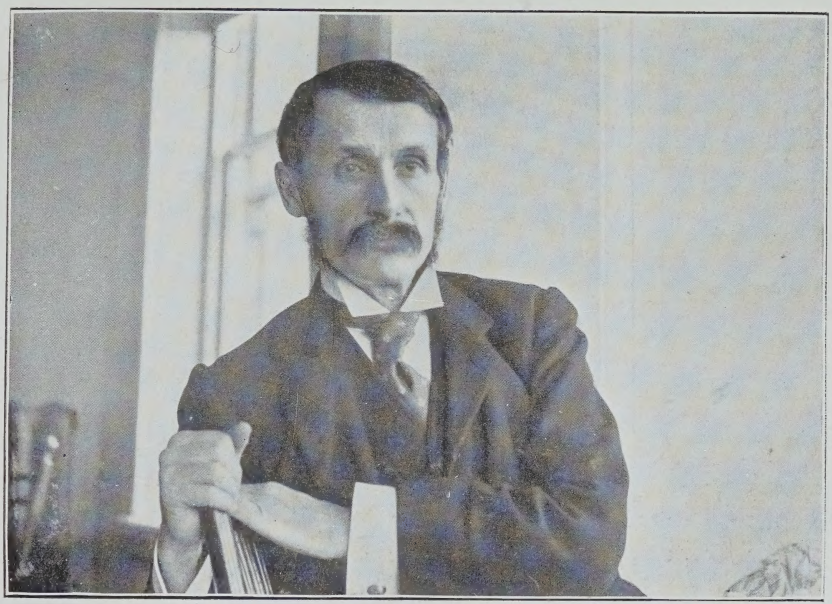
When you think of the enormous amount of capital that is derived from the natural gas fields of the United

States you will have some faint idea as to what that industry means to the development of a country. I take this from the *Petroleum Gazette,* published in New York, January, 1908: "The amount of gas, according to the United States Survey, produced by Pennsylvania for the year amounted to $18,558,245; West Virginia, $13,735,343. The total amount derived from natural gas in 1906 in the United States was over $468,000,000." The subject is altogether too large for me to go into in detail. In Hamilton, where I was Industrial Commissioner, I had to talk of a city; to-day I am talking of a Province. There is going to be great development throughout that last West, and who is going to develop it? I would like to see it done by Canadian capital and enterprise, but it looks as if the Americans from the middle and western States were going to develop it. Just now the Province is undergoing a change; it is in the transition state from a ranching to a farming country. The ranchers have kept the farmers out as long as possible, but it is impossible to keep them out any longer. The country must be developed, and it means that the farmer's day has come. In a short time agricultural capital is going to be followed by a wave of industrial capital from the American States. They are the best class of people who are coming in; they sell their farms at a high rate in Dakota and Minnesota. They come in with money, and are an excellent class of people, but they are not our own people.

When you come down here and talk to the manufacturers in Ontario they will ridicule the idea of any manufacturing industries ever being established in the West. I do not think there will be manufacturing industries in Manitoba or Saskatchewan, because there fuel is so dear and power so high. In Winnipeg the price of electric power makes it almost prohibitive. It costs not less than $60 per h.p. per annum. I would like to see our own Canadian manufacturers take a more active interest in this subject, and establish plants in Alberta. They say the raw material costs so much, but it costs a great deal less to haul raw material than the finished article. These are the things which the manufacturer should consider. A few years ago, when I started first operating upon American concerns, I was in correspondence with the McCormick Harvester Co., and I have, through the courtesy of Commissioner McLeod, my successor in Hamilton, a letter which was written to him by this company. "Some time ago you addressed us on the subject of a location in your city, since receiving same I have fully canvassed the matter and concluded you cannot interest us, for the reason that we have abandoned the notion of building works in Ontario." To-day they are operating in Hamilton a plant with an investment of seven million dollars. In a short time these machines will be manufactured in the West, and the manufacturer who deludes his mind that there is going to be no manufacturing in the West, and that he is going to have a cinch in that market from the East, will wake up to find that American people and push have taken the market away from him.

The next trip that I will take will be down in the middle States, telling the people of those States what advantages we have to offer in Alberta; that we have cheap power, and it was cheap power that made Hamilton what she is to-day, and it is cheap power that is going to make the West. I have been only a short time in the West and I have not become possessed as yet of that spirit of extravagant optimism which I think does the West an injustice. That spirit of extravagance is detrimental to the interests of the country. Let us get at the facts. We had a visit recently in the gas region from Rudyard Kipling. He went up on one of the great Mogul engines operated by natural gas. They put a few inches of coal in the bottom of the grate, have a short pipe burner about six feet long attached to the end of the tube, they turn on the gas, it kindles the coal from above down, and at the same time makes steam in the boiler. Kipling is a man who wants to see everything. Afterwards his description of the gas belt was embodied in this statement: "You people in this district seem to have all Hell for a basement."

Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, a short time ago, spent three days in Medicine Hat, and his expression was that he believed there was going to be manufacturing done in the West, and that the gas-belt was going to be the manufacturing centre of the West because of its cheap power. Medicine Hat should become the Pittsburg of Canada. The line of vision of the average manufacturer does not, however, carry him beyond the western boundary of Manitoba. But conditions in the far West are not similar, they are entirely different. The climate of Southern Alberta is more like Northern California, but without the rain-fall. It is very warm during the day, 75 to 95 degrees in the shade, but you will be surprised that I have slept between blankets at night all through the summer. Of the northern part of the Province I am not prepared to speak, but there is a variety there not to be found in any of the prairie provinces. I would like to have our Ontario manufacturers go out there and see for themselves. I am satisfied that the manufacturing for the Provinces of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba will in the near future be done in Alberta. Noting the condition of things there, I see the same ear-marks of American immigration that I noticed ten years ago in Hamilton. I would like to see the country settled by Canadians, and I notice, Mr. President, in the closing remarks of your address you urged the people to buy and procure goods made in Canada. I would go further, and say made in Canada by Canadians. We have a grand heritage in that Western country. I do not thing you realize it. I thought I knew something about Western conditions by reading, but the longer I am out there the less I seem to know about them. It has magnificent possibilities and the next ten years will see a greater change taking place in the Province than has taken place during the last twenty or thirty years.



Mr. George R. Parkin, C.M.G., LL.D.,
of London, England.

THE RELATIONS OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

Address by MR. GEORGE R. PARKIN, C.M.G., LL.D., before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 13th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I need not say that I feel it a very great pleasure and also a great honour to find that, when I return to my native country from doing work which has drawn me outside of Canada, I always receive, in any town where I am known, a cordial welcome, and particularly in this City of Toronto, where I spent many years in earnest work of an educational kind, but also where I tried in every way that I fairly could, to mingle with the general feelings and conditions of the city. And I therefore feel a special pleasure in finding so large a number of you business men willing to come here and listen to me when I return. Although I am living in England, I may say with perfect sincerity that a very large part of my heart is always in this country. I am constantly thinking about it, reading about it, writing about it, and where opportunity offers, speaking about it in the motherland. And I am sometimes almost inclined to feel that in the present relation of things, in the state of flux in British feeling, one can do almost as much good to Canada in the centre of the Empire as he could out where there are plenty of you who understand and know things as they are.

Of course my own particular work gives me a special interest. At Oxford I have twenty-four selected young Canadians in the position to acquire there the very best that the Old World can give at the greatest centre of British learning; they are also in close touch with that wider European experience which is useful for people of this continent. I therefore feel that, while I am in

England I am closely in touch with Canada, and I hope, as the years go on, to make myself more familiar with everything Canadian, to have more time to give to it, and as far as my influence goes, to try to make Canada better understood in the Motherland. Speaking to the Empire Club, I want to say in the first place, that no thought of mine that I have ever expressed in this city, or used in any part of the Empire, with regard to the future of our national development has changed in any fundamental respect. I believe to-day as firmly as twenty-five or thirty years ago, that the greatest possible destiny that England's greatest colony can have is that we shall remain a united people firmly connected with the great Empire stock from which we sprung. That fundamental principle rests on conditions that cannot change; but the conditions on which that great idea is going to be worked out change from time to time, and there is not a year comes, there is not a growth goes on, but what I find myself compelled to review the arguments that I have used before, to reconsider the positions which I have stated to you; new thoughts and ideas come in connection with every point. Therefore, it is for that reason that I have selected my subject today—"The relation of Canada and the United States on this Continent."

As I said before, the fundamental question, to my mind, of the future of Canada, rests in her connection with the Empire. But second to that there is no question that Canada must consider more profoundly than the fact that they are lying right beside one of the greatest nations of modern times, and one which has in it the capacity for developing into probably the vastest single nation, outside of our own Empire, that the world has ever known—bordering for 3,000 miles on this great state; and I cannot give you any idea of the depth of feeling which I have with regard to the matter of getting a practical, statesmanlike view of our relations to that great country. It is undergoing at the present time a change of the most remarkable kind. Since 1776, or perhaps I ought to say since 1783, when the great emigration of the United Empire Loyalists came down to this country, the general attitude of Canada to the United States has been one of resistance, a resistance to what appeared to many to be a kind of irresistible attraction. That attitude is entirely changed; we stand to-day in a different position. It is now understood that this continent is divided into two parts; that one-half belongs to Canada and the other half to the United States; that while they have got an advantage in population, and a growth of about 50 or 60 years, we have the great undeveloped resources; that we have the enormous future; that we have possibilities just as great as they have; and that both Americans and Canadians are fully agreed that we are to work out our destiny on parallel, and not on converging lines. What is it that one of the clearest thinkers of America said the other day—President Elliot of Harvard: " I assure you, gentlemen, that it is much to be wished, much to be prayed for, that Canada and the United States remain two absolutely independent powers on this continent."

So long as, under the conditions that I have described, they can work out two independent experiments in the conduct of free institutions, it is an immense object-lesson for humanity that these two free countries continue to experiment independently on the conduct of free institutions. Now I have had occasion within the last few years to travel a great deal in the United States, and I can assure you that I believe that this has become the prevailing opinion among all thoughtful Americans. There is another ill-regulated mass behind them which we have to consider, but I believe that that is the thought of the leading Americans. The other day I had the advantage of a long conversation with a man whom everyone respects—Ex-President Cleveland. We talked for some time, and he inquired with great care about Canada. I told him of our expansion and our hopes, and what we believed to be the superior conditions under which we were entering on the rise of national life. He turned around to a friend and said, " What makes me like and respect those Canadians—there are all kinds of talk about trade and commerce, but mention annexation to them and they put their fists right up and say, 'We are going to work out our destiny under our own King and our own institutions.'" That was the view of one of the most distinguished ex-Presidents of the United States, and it wins the admiration of all honest men and all clear thinkers when we stand on our own feet and decide to work out our own destiny.

What I want to do to-day is to compare with you for a few minutes the position of the two countries on this continent, and to draw from that some inferences. First, let me say that without hesitation I claim that we have the most prodigious advantages on this northern side of the line; advantages of various kinds. And first and foremost among these I am inclined to place the thing of which some Canadians have been ashamed, but in which I glory; and that is that we are the "Lady of the Snows" and that we have a 30 to 40 below zero climate. I tell my English friends that I consider it the greatest asset that Canada has to-day. I will tell you why. Look what it sets us free from! What is the incubus that rests upon the United States to-day, and for which the most thinking men have found it impossible to find a solution? It is this great colour problem. We never can have a problem of that kind in this country; it is impossible. And I do not believe that Canadians will ever consent under the conditions of their growth to have anything to do with the solution of that problem. What was the number of people that flowed into the United States last year from the Valley of the Mediterranean, from nations very poorly trained to political wisdom? 1,200,000 people passed through Ellis Island, N. Y., alone last year; and the average rate for some years has been closely upon 1,000,000. We are free from that great problem and the difficulties which it involves.

What is more, I have read with some interest of the suffering that is going on here in Toronto among a certain limited class. What do I tell my friends in England about that? I tell them that Nature is doing her great work of selection here. I tell them that you never can have in this climate the submerged tenth which afflicts a city like London, where people sleep outside along the embankments. Nature takes them firmly in her hand and says, If you do not have foresight and prudence, and get fuel and food and a roof over your head, you are going to die in that climate. And Nature is going to train the Canadians to foresight and prudence, and saving, and to those economies and that spirit which has always marked the people of the North, and given them the strength and advantage over the people of the South; and while this is a matter of temporary suffering, and there will always be suffering as long as you have two or three thousand people pouring into your city from countries where they have been accustomed to receive charity, still nature is doing the separating work, and the people who are unfit for this country are being separated, not by some stern artificial law, but by the law of Nature, which makes its citizens a strong and vigorous people. That is one of the immense advantages which we have over the people to the south of us. In the future that means everything for us. It means that we are going to have a people more carefully selected, more fit for the struggle of life, breeding a better race than those who take people from all kinds and conditions and permit a submerged tenth.

I have been travelling a good deal through the States and have been very much struck by the extraordinary growth of respect, and almost, I might say, of envy, for the people on the north side of the line, for the immense resources, the opportunities they have, and for a great many other reasons. First is the Imperial connection. I often think that my fellow-Canadians do not know what that means. I know of no people in the whole course of human history that have ever had their limbs so absolutely free to develop their own resources. Take the United States. When I was in Washington the other day, there was a statement baldly made that the United States was now spending one million dollars a day on military and naval expenditure. And you can easily see that it is true. Talk about the military expenditure of Germany and France—it is an absolute fact that the United States are spending one million dollars a day; made up of $150,000,000 or thereabouts a year on pensions; about $100,000,000 for the development of their navy in the new programme; and something like one hundred million more for the support of the army which they have had to enlarge to such an extent.

What is our position? When they have spent their million dollars a day they have nothing like the range of the world that we have. Does their flag give them access to commerce in every corner of the world; to feel the absolute protection that a trader or a merchant in Canada has when he goes to South Africa or India or China? Not at all. They have nothing of the kind—a comparatively limited range compared with what we Canadians enjoy. I think, myself, I have never hesitated to say (I would be ashamed if I had not the courage to say) that the day is rapidly coming when not the necessities, but the self-respect of Canadians, will compel them to bear a larger share of the Empire's expense. I have no sympathy with the politicians that try to wriggle out of the manifest destiny of any great, young, growing country. You can feel the consciousness of a national life coming in Canada. I believe in it. If I were in Canada I would preach Canadianism to its utmost bounds, because I know that the more we become conscious of a national feeling, the deeper will sink into us a sense of national responsibility, a feeling of the responsibilities which are involved in taking the place of a nation.

What does that mean? Did you ever notice what happens when there is a riot in China or in any other country, and British subjects are attacked? A British man-of-war is there immediately, and the discussion goes on under a British man-of-war's guns. Now, we had a riot the other day in Vancouver, and it was an attack on the allies of this country, and on a people who have a very powerful navy. Suppose we had not been connected with the British Empire; don't you think a

Japanese warship would have been there within a few days, and that the discussion about that riot would have gone on under Japanese guns? Of course it would. They have the same spirit as we have, and the people who talk so glibly about militarism would soon find out what it was to carry on a discussion with Japan unless they had back of them the prestige of our mighty flag and the power of our mighty nation. Therefore, I put down the Imperial connection as one of the supreme advantages which Canada possesses in taking control of one-half of this continent and working out its development.

There is the question of trade advantage. Of course, that is a thing that is in a state of flux, but we are perfectly sure that the tide is changing in England; and, while the process of events may not go on as rapidly as we wish, perhaps it is wiser that it should not go with too great a rush. Every change of feeling in England will mean less trade for the United States and other foreign states, and more for the great colonies that belong to the Empire, and we cannot turn too much wisdom in the direction of making the most out of inter-imperial trade with every part of the Empire. Then we have, as I mentioned, the advantage of those larger untouched resources in the vast prairies, in the thousand miles of Rocky Mountains yet unexplored, but yielding the most wonderful riches, and in a vast country to the north of us which in its forests, its electrical energy which fills every waterfall, and in a thousand ways, is going to give us an industrial position in the world absolutely unequalled—when we have learned the trick of harnessing the power and drawing out its resources.

I want to come to another advantage, and that is the constitutional advantage. Our friends in the United States are now face to face with the Presidential election, and every business man in that country will tell you that this is an off-year for business. There is no certainty about it. What is it makes it such? They put up every four years to open competition the glory and the brilliancy and the splendour of the chief place in the

Republic, and it becomes a fruitful subject of competition, and you know at different times in American history the car of state has wobbled under the pressure. We are free from that under our constitutional system. The people find other ways of expressing their national will, and we find in Canada that to be free from that is a very great advantage. I believe that our British system gives greater opportunity to real greatness than the United States does. I once said to President Roosevelt: "There is a great deal of criticism of the English House of Lords. Let us think a moment. What is your system? You draw a man up to the very head of your system; you get your biggest man and put him at your head, use him for four or eight years, and throw him aside like a squeezed orange—no more use for him. In England the moment we get our eyes on a man of supreme ability, whether he be a manufacturer, a soldier, a lawyer like Lord Alverstone, or a man of science, we put him in the House of Lords." You laugh at Lord Alverstone's name, and I am going to face that question. I have read as carefully as I could read the other day the best statement that I could get on that question, and I am not sure that you did not get as fair a decision as could properly be given. I do not believe in yielding to popular clamour. If Lord Alverstone has had an injustice done to him, it is the business of the Canadian people to say that it was an injustice.

The moment that we get hold of a supreme man of any kind we put him in the House of Lords, and then his wisdom and advice for all the rest of his life are saved for the guidance of the British people. Is not that system to be thought something about—a system that has its own merits and advantages? I do not hesitate to say that if you could create in the United States a system which in Elizabeth's reign produced a Burleigh and a lineal descendant like Lord Salisbury in Victoria's reign, there is a good deal to be said for it. I wish the Astors and the Vanderbilts could turn out, generation after generation, something that would do as much good as the Cecils did.

Another constitutional point. I want to put this closely to Canadians. In this particular they are beginning to lead the Americans. I said once to President Cleveland: "There is one thing that worries me in Oxford. You send us over about 70 of the keenest young Americans (and Cecil Rhodes wanted to put his eye upon the men who are going to govern affairs in the world), yet the moment that I mention going into public life to one of these scholars he takes no interest in it. He sees no direct way in which he can get into public life." Mr. Cleveland said: "They are pretty nearly right; partly on account of the local nature of our vote. A man has to be born in the locality of his election, and it is one of the greatest hindrances, and shuts out some of the ablest men we have. On this account our public life is lowered." In Canada we have the British system. If a man is defeated in one constituency he goes to another. He is not lost to public life. But if a man is defeated in his own constituency in the United States he is lost to public life forever.

Of all things, fellow-Canadians, I ask you, do not get too local in your politics. The other day a man of exceptional ability, trained for a particular post, was recommended to a position in Ottawa, and I was told that reference was made to the local member in a remote part of Canada to find out what his father's politics were before he should be appointed. If you do that in Canada you are hopelessly lost in regard to your Civil Service and many other things. Do not be too local; do not put in a man because he is going to fill every petty, wretched little office with his friends. Have a spirit above public office. Look on a man who goes into public life as a man making a sacrifice for the people. What I would like to say to you is: Don't let your public life get in the condition that the Americans find themselves, of not seeing a clear path open for useful ambition. As to the Rhodes' scholars, those young men of yours are sitting right down beside young Englishmen, and if one of those Englishmen is making a brilliant course at Oxford, he says, "I am going into

Parliament." A Premier of England to-day, a leader of a party, would not be considered as doing his duty if he did not keep a close eye on Oxford and on Cambridge to find specially able men that he can draw into his party and give the political training to that is necessary to success. Mr. Root has said that "the curse of our American public life is that the average American thinks that the average man is good enough for any post at all." If you take him out of a grocery store, on a lawyer's office, or out of some other profession, he is equally good to become a statesman. But you really want men trained for it, and you ought to pick the brightest intellects and give them the training that will make them statesmen, instead of having little, pottering politicians that are made by a village drinkshop process.

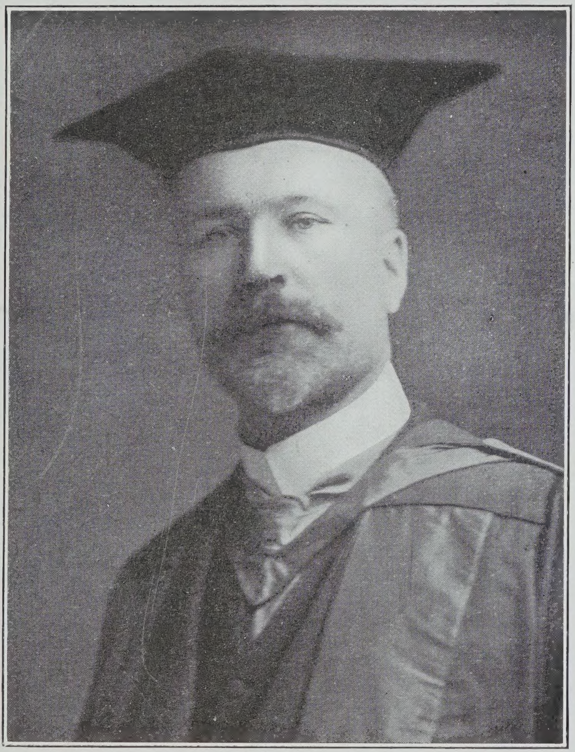
I am glad that I have this particular body of people to say one thing more to—that to have the great influence that you can have in this country and on this continent you should revive the ancient spirit. The ancient world—the Greek or Roman world—was a fighting world; everybody had to fight his way. A man had to risk his life at any time at all, and so they fitted their philosophy to that. The mother at home, when she sent her boy out into the field, pointed to his shield, and said: "Come back with it when the battle is done, or on it from the field." We are not living in a fighting world, but in an industrial world, and are we going to have less of a sense of honour, less of a sense of a man going home with his shield, nay, if necessary, on his commercial shield rather than without it? If we do not feel that, we are unworthy of living in a country like this. We must create a spirit of financial and commercial honour which will be equal to the old Spartan military spirit. That is what will make Canada a great nation, more than railroads, or wheat, or anything else can do. That is what will make the American Union look at us with admiration, as a people that are wisely and truly governed, and by a high and noble spirit. The most remarkable thing, I suppose, that has ever happened in the history of the commercial world is what has happened to the United States within the last two months.

In cities where the wealth is absolutely rolling down the streets, where the prairies have been absolutely covered with products, where everything has seen the fullest swing of prosperity, you have had absolute panic and prostration. Every thinking man knows that it is from mutual mistrust of each other, a disbelief in the honesty of one's neighbour, a disbelief in the way the trusts and great corporations are conducted, a feeling that every man is trying to get everything he can out of his neighbour. You in Canada can change all that. I have been talking the last day or two with a clear-eyed Englishman. I sometimes hear criticisms made of Englishmen. I wish in a thousand factories you could have that clear, calm spirit of British honour which you can never have any doubt about, just as clear and transparent as it can possibly be; if you could place that in every factory, every place that you have around you, you would have no panics, no fear, no mutual distrust; Canada would stand as on a hill. Put that idea before you; hold it before you—a high commercial honour.

There is one other thing that is among our assets, and that is our history. The American people started in revolution; we started in loyalty. We lived on loyalty; we have been brought up to it. Our French people were loyal to their traditions, and fought to the bitter end. Our United Empire Loyalists were loyal to the Empire to which they belonged. We have stood here for 125 years, when, if we had lifted up our little finger we could have been connected with the United States. Our history is one of the great things. One of the noblest bits of work that is being done in Canada to-day is being done at Ottawa, and that is in the archives of this country. Dr. Doughty is bringing together a history; is putting together something there that is going to fill the whole Canadian people with pride and glory when they look back upon their past. The traditions of this country—French, English, Empire Loyalist traditions from 1812 to the later times—are a glorious basis, and back of that are the great traditions of England by which our loyalty is sustained. No nation ever had such a past behind it and such an opportunity before it.

Clean out your politics, lift the spirit of commercial honour, get your boys to play fair, and I have no question about Canada. The other day, in Oxford, I was sitting among a dozen American scholars, and I said to them: "What has impressed you most in Oxford?" One of them said: "I can tell what has impressed me most; that is, to find myself among 3,500 men, not one of whom would not rather lose a game fairly than win it unfairly."

In moving a vote of thanks, Colonel G. T. Denison said: "I have very great pleasure in taking one or two minutes, on behalf of my fellow-members of the Club, to thank Dr. Parkin for one of the most eloquent, loyal, patriotic and Canadian speeches that I have listened to for many a day. I think every single point that he put was clear-cut and direct, and contained a good lesson for us all. There was not a single point that he brought forward that I, for one at any rate, would not heartily and strongly support—even in his remark about Lord Alverstone, upon which there might be some difference of opinion. I shall once more say that I believe Lord Alverstone made the very best decision for Canada that could possibly be obtained on the evidence in connection with the case; and I say that after having studied it with great care, after having studied the treaty and the maps, and I think the gentlemen of this Club will know that I, at any rate, would not be prejudiced in favour of any contentions of the United States!"



THE REV. J. A. MACDONALD.
Editor-in-Chief of the Toronto *Globe*.

THE BUSINESS MAN AND THE CHURCHES.

Address by the REV. J. A. MACDONALD, Editor-in-Chief of the Toronto *Globe*, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 20th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I think it is a fact that the business men of this country are getting more interested in the work of the churches. In Toronto one of the significant movements of the year has been the Laymen's Movement. I speak on politics a little and on education a little, but there is no theme that I have been so much asked to talk of as some subject that is of interest to some church or denomination. It is the same on the other side of the line. I came against this a year and a half ago, when I met several thousand men—all laymen, except a few men with short coats and red neckties, who had got in. These men represented the largest industries of the continent, and they were met for two or three days to discuss the problem of the churches. I met this point at Indianapolis, Chicago, Ann Arbor, Detroit, Jackson, Cleveland, Rochester, Boston, New York, East Orange, Philadelphia, Washington, and two or three other places in the United States. The same thing is true of Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Peterborough, Port Hope, Hamilton, Brantford, London, Woodstock, and one or two other places in Canada, where the same sort of men, business men of affairs, met to discuss seriously some problem of the Church. It is a fact, and your President asks me to explain the why and the wherefore of this interesting thing.

Thinking over it this morning, that business men like you and me should be showing more interest in getting closer to the work of the churches, I concluded, for one thing, from the point of view of the business men, that there is a growing sense on their part that the life of a man is too big, too vital, too abundant, to be confined within the narrow lines that lead merely to the making of money. That is one thing. That the average thoughtful man feels that there is that in him which cannot be expressed in the mere routine of the office, or store, or factory, or shop. The life of a man is far more than what is seen. Back of it there is the indomitable fire that burns within, but lives by the unseen flame within; and every man among us has that something which is the distinction of that man, that separates him from everyone else; and his business in the world and his success in the world is marked by the expression that he gives to that something, that Idea, that makes him a distinct individuality. No man among us can express himself, all that is in him, in the doing of the particular job that he may be at, in the office, or the store, or the factory.

More—I think this, also—that to many men in affairs who reflect a bit, they see no tragedy so great, none on the stage so great, so appalling, as that which they see in the circle in which they move, of men of large life, great vitality, hopes, and ideals, who because they set themselves simply to business and the making of money, come to the atrophy of what is greatest in them. You and I know men, and if we look soberly and clearly, with wide-open eyes, into our own hearts we may find that these men are not far from us, who suffer atrophy of the best instincts just because they give themselves so absolutely to the things of life. There is no epitaph so appalling as that written over the man who was "born a man and died a grocer." That epitaph would still have use if tombstones told the truth. Many a man is born with the instincts and hopes and aspirations of a man; he dies a grocer, or a lawyer, or a manufacturer, or an official. He loses the manhood that is in him in the mere office that he holds, or the job he does, and that sense grows upon men who move about and meet with men who had it in them to be great as men, who are only great as officials or as instruments in the doing of things.

And, more than this, I think there is a growing sense with the man of the world to-day—a sense of the background of life, the unseen in life. No man is great whose background is not great and deep as in a picture you see through among the trees, to the dark, mysterious some-place beyond—the work of the artist and yet to his art the best that is in it is in that thing that you do not see—deep, far in the dark beyond. The life of a man is too often the shallow surface of the photograph that has no perspective, that has no deepness. And the sense grows upon men that the strength of a man is not in the things he does, in the words he says, or in those external manifestations, but in the deep background of his loves and hates and hopes and fears that cannot be catalogued or measured. So it grows upon those who must of necessity deal with the things of life, its business, its trade, its affairs, that if he is to be strong and to be truly great, that background must be maintained, must be preserved—the unseen background of life.

These things struck me this morning when I faced the problem of why it is that the business man is getting nearer the churches, into more sympathy with those things that seem to him to be effective. From another side the business man, with this sense of the largeness of the unseen life, too vital, too abundant, too big, to be expressed merely in the routine of the office or shop, and who fears the tragedy of the atrophy of the best that is in himself, and who has a sense of something unseen round about him, the dreams he has, the hopes and the fears, finds in the Church an aid and an educator to that part of life that he calls the religious life. I know religion and religions are words often used in a wrong sense, though to me that word means this—the something in the life of a man that binds him to the unseen, and this is as truly religion in darkest Africa or in the pagan islands of the sea as it is in you and me—whatever it may be; the sense of the Indian that kept him in touch with the happy hunting grounds beyond the setting sun, which was as essentially religious as anything that binds the most saintly man to what he calls his God. It is that something in man himself, because man is made as he is, so as to have the instincts that keep him in touch with the unseen. That is religion.

The Church, by its constitution, its purpose, its genius, is the best educator and aid that we know as yet for the average man for keeping alive that inward hope, the flame of life. It is the best. More than that, the Church is, after all, notwithstanding its mistakes, the best agent we have for the service of those around. It is a church, and not a club. I admit that many a church I know is not a church at all. They are clubs. The distinction is quite obvious. A man pays his fees and the club serves him—administers to his wants. When it has done that it has done its full. A church that ministers to its members only is not a church at all; it is a club, with an oratory platform at one end and a concert hall at the other. The church that exists for its own sake, or for the service of its members, is not a church as it was conceived by Him who is the hope and the founder of the Church. It exists, if it is a church at all, for the service of the world, for the service of those who need its service. He put it Himself when He said: "If any would be great among you, let him be your servant, and he that would be the very first, let him be the bond slave of all." That the ideal and genius, the purpose and ultimate aim of the Church is serving men, regardless of who or what they are, giving itself whatever of truth, whatever of power, whatever of help it has for the service of man. That is the purpose of the Church. And men come to see that, in spite of its limitations, and of its mistakes, the Church is to-day a great instrument in the community for the unselfish service of those who need.

You and I know that the very easiest thing to do is to pay money. We raised something of a fund for the need of those who are just outside the city here, in two or three weeks, of $18,000. It was easily raised, and far more than that value of goods was sent in by manufacturers and wholesale men for the relief of that need. But I say it was not a club, it was not the leaders of a club; it was not the men, like ourselves here, who put up the money and sent out the goods who did the great service, the essential service; but those who did the real service, who really served those poor, were those persons who, day after day, unreported, unheralded, unpraised, were going about, and will go for weeks from shack to shack, ministering to those who need. And the very same thing is true in this city. The institutions of relief and of service—the hospitals and the homes, and the House of Industry; those who patiently, unselfishly, and for the sake of doing some good, work, day in and day out, year in and year out—they are the ones who, after all, are doing the great service. Analyze the list and you will find that nearly every man and woman of them draws something of the inspiration for that extended and unfailing service from the background of the Church.

Then, too, this: The Church's ideal to-day is not the saving of the individual. It is only of late that the Church has begun to realize this, because two or three centuries ago the emphasis used to be on the individual man—what he thought and what was to become of him. The Church has begun to see that a far larger thing, a higher ideal, is involved. The social organizations of man, the social needs of man, the social hopes of man—all that is involved in what He meant when He put His Church into the world to do some good. And the Church's social object and ideal is now coming to be realized as it never was before. The purpose is not simply that of getting men into a heaven somewhere in the great hereafter, but getting something of heaven—its peace, its happiness, its right relation, its life—on earth. That, now, to all the interests and all the organizations of the world is a part of the business of the Church. More than that, the Church appeals to every man of us who knows things as they are—makes its appeal to what men ought to be. The great word ought —" it ought to be "—is the great word of the Church. It ought to be in your life and in mine; it ought to be in your city, in your land; and what ought to be is the great distinctive word of the Church. It makes a distinction as no other agency does, as the school does not do, as the press does not do, as no other institution does; it makes a distinction between right and wrong, and puts the emphasis on what is right, that it ought to be; and what is wrong, that it ought not to be; and the doing of the right, whether for the individual, for the home, for the community, or for the nation, the doing of the right does not end in the same way as the wrong.

More than that, there is one thing that is coming distinctly into view, that the Church and the State are the two great organizations of democracy. Democracy has a number of organizations—a club like this, a bankers' association, a union—any organization of men is one of the organizations of democracy, just because the people rule, because the opportunity and obligation rests upon all the people, each to do his part in the government of the nation. Just because of that, any association, any club, any school, any organization of men that does anything for clearing the thinking of men, or for the help of life, is an organization of democracy, though the two great organizations are the State and the Church. The State, of course, is the council, the legislature, the parliament. Each is an organization of democracy. But democracy cannot express itself, and never did express itself, fully through the city council, or the legislature, or the parliament. The Church is the other great organ of democracy, and both of these should care for their land; both must do each its own work, or suffering will come to the community and the nation. The Church must back up the State. The State must pave the way for the Church, each doing its own work in its own way; but both as organizations of the great democracy, both making for the same high ends—the betterment of the life of the community. The State may find it essential to do certain things that, in some directions, are not good for the community. The State may find that it must develop the resources of the land; it must run new railways through; it must bring in people to construct the railways and occupy the land. In all that there is danger. In all these pending developments of our Dominion there is danger to the Dominion; it is inevitable. It is the duty of the press, institutions like these, and the Church, to go into those new communities that are opened, and help the other side of the life of the community, which cannot be well helped through the legislation of the State.

The bringing of thousands upon thousands into our land, pouring in at a rate, during this year, greater than ever went into the United States when the population was five and a half times more than we now have, makes a problem for the nation and the Church. The business of the latter is to go into every one of these new communities, without expressing its opinion as to whether the Doukhobor, or Galician, or Bulgarian, or any other class, should or should not have been brought here. That is not the Church's affair. But it is up to the Church to go in and make the most of them. Whether any more should or should not be allowed in may be argued; but for those that are here, as a Christianizing and Canadianizing agency, it is the business of the Church to follow every trail, to be with every construction camp, and to be the pioneer over the plains and down through the valleys of the mountains. The democracy gives the Church such an opportunity as it never had in any other age or land.

What is the meaning of this movement among the laymen? It is that they believe that they should give the Gospel to China and Japan. It is because they believe that if they do not do something of that sort there will be the devil to pay in the days to come. We have taught Japan our tricks of peace and war; we have taught China how to build a warship; we have taught China the wealth of her ore and how to estimate aright the strength of her men. Japan needs to learn tricks only once; China, only once; India, not more than one and a half times at least. And China and India and Japan and Corea, if they are not touched by something else than merely our trade, if they know Canada and this world in the West only by our warships and by our trade and by our tariff walls, I say to you there will be the devil to pay before you and I have gone off the scene. If ever the war of the world comes it will not be on the Atlantic, but on the Western sea, with China, India and Japan — millions of men, an unknown strength—and it is our obligation as Canadians, churchmen or not, so to relate ourselves to the large problems of the nation that China and Japan will understand us more than they have done, and that we should understand them more than we do; and in the past, up to date, those who have done most to make for international good relations are the missionary men and women who have gone out to those countries. The people may not understand what we mean by our tariff walls, or by our laws that shut them out, but they understand men and women who go and serve the sick and the poor, and open the eyes of the blind, and minister to the minds of all their people. They can understand that, and they do believe that in the United States and Canada there is something more than merely seeking to make out of the Orient all that can be made without doing something for the Orient in return.

By the work done in the Church our nation should come to a higher ideal as to what it is for; that our nation here in Canada is not simply for the aggrandizement of those belonging to it. We hold this half of the continent, not because we are here, and not because those who came before us drove back the French and killed off the Indians. The only hold we have to this half of the continent is that we hold its resources and its opportunities for the service of the world, and I said with frankness the other day to a large number of men on the other side of the line that Britain had borne too long the burden of the world; that the States had for too long concerned themselves only about their homes and their trade and their interests between the Lakes and the Gulf and the Seas; that now they have been crowded by events over which they had no control, and circumstances that they did not arrange, into the limelight of the world; and I for one do not regret, without discussing Imperialism, that this part of the Empire has beside it a republic that is bound up in the bundle with it, whose burden is the burden of civilization, Anglo-Saxon civilization, and that these two must stand together for the largest freedom, and enlightenment, and civilization of the world; and that this fact is at the bottom and is working through the outlook, the purposes of the Church, as it goes abroad beyond the seas into the large outer world.

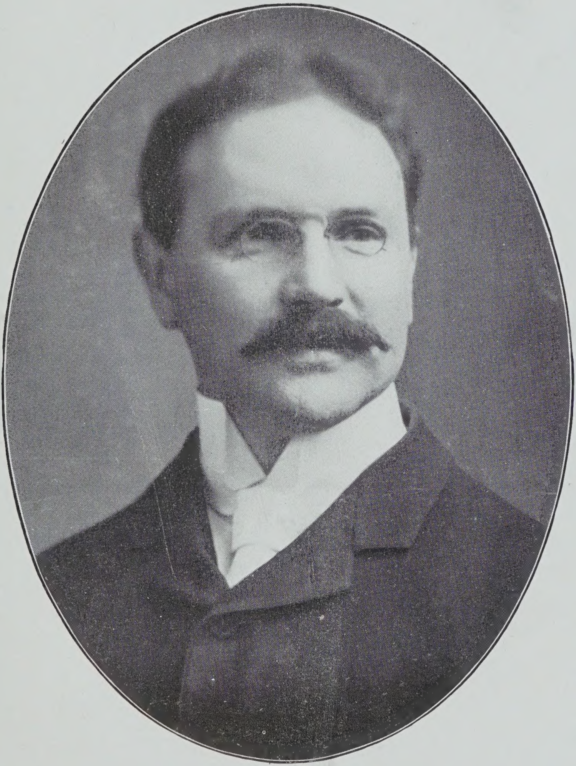
THE PLAY SPIRIT AND PLAYGROUNDS IN TORONTO.

Address by MR. J. J. KELSO, Ontario Superintendent of Neglected Children, before the Empire Club of Canada.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I want to bring before your attention the necessity of play, the necessity that men should realize and enjoy life, and not allow the over-civilization of the age to crush out the spirit of enjoyment and conviviality and good comradeship. There is a tendency nowadays to make life too commercial and to ignore the fact that man is an animal and that he requires a good deal of recreation, requires to be limbered up, if he is going to get any satisfaction out of life at all. Many of us are hurrying on toward the latter end of our journey without taking enough time to enjoy the pleasant things by the way or to appreciate all the opportunities that surround us for rational enjoyment.

We have not given much attention in Toronto to the subject of play, and I think I can convince you of this in a few moments. In the older civilizations, in Europe, they have their national play festivals and the people devote themselves heart and soul to this enjoyment, and are not too proud or dignified to laugh and have a good time. You know it is almost a crime to laugh in Toronto, and one has to be very dignified and grave; although we are told that a good laugh is better than medicine any time. In the older civilizations they give more attention to the matter of play than we do here. You have all heard about Merry Old England, with its Village Green and Maypole and interesting stories of olden-time festivities, although, I am afraid, these are disappearing in the England of to-day. In the United States the only place, so far, that has developed



Mr. J. J. Kelso.

Ontario Superintendent of Neglected Children.

the festival idea to any extent is New Orleans, where the people have the delightful *mardi gras,* lasting for three days, but looked forward to with anticipation for months.

We made an attempt at something of that kind some years ago. We had a summer carnival—four days of solid enjoyment. That was a dismal failure. And why? Not because we did not want it to be a success, or that it was not a good thing, but because we were not educated up to the idea of enjoyment, of throwing business cares aside and going in for a pleasant sociable time, free from business cares and anxiety. The object of the Civic Guild of Art and other organizations is to encourage more of the lighter spirit, to make the city beautiful and attractive and interesting for young and old. We have been going distinctly backward during the past few years. We are gradually losing all the old, familiar playgrounds, and the athletic clubs that we had a few years ago have passed out of existence. Those of you who were once Toronto boys will remember the Queen's Park. As a lad many happy hours were spent by me along the side of the little stream that used to run through there, and around the pond where the swans and other birds were to be found. There were ample playgrounds then, in which all the children of Toronto could enjoy themselves, but they have almost entirely disappeared, and if you go to Queen's Park now you will read the ominous sign, "Ball playing strictly prohibited," and the other day an order was issued prohibiting coasting down the hills.

Take our athletic clubs. You remember some years ago a number of public-spirited citizens organized the Toronto Athletic Club, and erected one of the finest club buildings to be found anywhere on the continent. This building, erected at a cost of $150.000, possessed the finest swimming tank in Canada. That building has since been diverted from its purpose, and turned into a technical school. Then we had another social club, on Church Street—the Athenæum—and that building has been turned into a labour temple. And, one by one, we have been allowing these athletic clubs to go out of existence. I was enquiring why this was, and some gentlemen interested in these matters said it was because they could not get the privilege of selling whiskey. That seemed to me to be a great reflection—that we cannot have athletic clubs without having to sell liquor in such places. These are two indications of the backward trend. We have lost the Queen's Park as a playground, and these athletic buildings, and are rapidly filling up every vacant space of land in the city. Lands suitable for playgrounds could have been bought a few years ago for an almost nominal sum; to-day they are valuable; a few years from now they will be ten times as valuable; and, twenty-five years hence, according to the city's present rate of development, they will be too valuable for purchase.

The other day the Superintendent of our schools talked of establishing a playground on the top of the York Street School, because land in that vicinity was getting too valuable. Are we not coming to a pretty pass when we are talking of building playgrounds on the top of the schools? When Mr. R. J. Fleming was Assessment Commissioner he advocated the establishing of a playground, or recreation garden, on the top of the freight sheds down at the bay, where the poor could go with their children and get a fine view of the water. It was frowned down by the aldermen, because it would cost two or three thousand dollars more than an ordinary shaped roof; and the fact is that to-day you are not able to see the water-front of Toronto without paying a fare and going over to the Island. Our City Council has made some attempt to provide playgrounds. There was a piece of land set apart for a playground between Yonge and Bay Streets, land that to-day is worth $300,000. But, through lack of knowledge or interest, that piece of land has not been put to the use for which it was intended, and is simply a dumping-ground for tin cans, a place for weeds to grow, and for loafers and drunks to assemble in the summer time. That land might be made one of the most attractive and interesting places in this city, or any city, if it only had the right kind of management.

Now, you know that athletics will bring more fame to a city than anything else. You know what fame was brought to Toronto by Hanlan and Longboat, and Sherring has brought fame to Hamilton; but, gentlemen, I ask you what facilities are we providing for the growing children of this city to acquire anything like physical skill or endurance? Very little, I fear, in a practical, definite way. Longboat was brought to the front and trained by Mr. Ashley, physical director of the West End Y.M.C.A. A few days ago Mr. Ashley sent in his resignation. He is going into business, to the great regret and sorrow of a large number of boys and young men in the West End, who have looked upon him as a friend. He is going out of athletics because there is not enough encouragement to make it worth his while. Only this week Mr. Crocker, one of the finest men in this country, physical director in the Central Y.M.C.A., handed in his resignation. He, too, is going into business, largely because no adequate salaries are paid to men who make athletic instruction their vocation.

This subject of playgrounds and play life has been lost sight of in the civic life of Toronto. There is no reason why we should not have numerous playgrounds. If I had my way, I would take the block of land in front of the City Hall and establish there a playground and open-air gymnasium, and have one of the best men directing the sports of the young people. Just consider for a moment the influence that would have on the social life of the people of Toronto! You would have an object lesson always before the people of rational enjoyment; and the happiness of the children playing there would reflect into the lives of the men and women passing by, and who need something to cheer them up. Nowadays we are getting to look on the sad side of life altogether too much, and we ought to keep constantly in mind that man needs diversion, needs to forget the cares and worries of business life; and if we cannot be happy ourselves, if we are too busy making money to take time to enjoy life, let us at least provide the facilities for boys and girls to be young while they are young.

The whole tendency of modern times seems to be to make prematurely old people out of boys and girls. Take our school life. Children are expected to learn too fast; are given a whole lot of lessons to take home at night, worrying their little brains, and also worrying the life out of their parents trying to answer questions that are quite beyond them. Many of the nervous diseases that people suffer from to-day are due to overwork in school and to that senseless rush to get an education fast. A father told me the other day of his daughter, seventeen years of age, who had matriculated and was ready to enter the University. And in all our universities we have boys and girls who are mere children, not mature enough to get the full benefit of a university course. In the matter of child-labour we are constantly trying to get people to see that the boys and girls ought to be kept in school and in the home life until fifteen or sixteen years of age, so that they may gain strength and know the joy and happiness of existence before they get into the harness of the factory or shop and the hard grind of earning a living.

In Toronto we have not one playground that is worthy to be so called. We have athletic fields in the suburbs, but they are a long way off. When speaking of this subject to the Parks Commissioner, he pointed to the splendid athletic fields in High Park and Riverdale. They are all right, but I can tell you of lots of little fellows in "the Ward" and centres of the city who have gone out to those places and been so tired that they have not been able to enjoy themselves, and then they have had to trudge all the way back home again. These athletic fields are necessary and desirable, but we ought to have, in addition, right in the heart of the city, even if the land is valuable, small playgrounds, properly equipped and supervised, where the children can play to their hearts' content. A great deal of attention is now being given to these subjects in New York and Chicago and other large cities. They decided to have a play festival in Chicago, in order to encourage the idea of regular games; and do you know that there was not an American child in Chicago who knew anything about games, and they had to get the different nationalities—foreigners who had come there as strangers—to dress up in their national costumes and go through their national plays to show America how they used to enjoy themselves before they came over here to make money?

These central playgrounds need not be very extensive. The aldermen apparently have the idea that they must be large spaces. In many places about two hundred feet frontage would be sufficient, or even one hundred feet frontage if there is a good depth, to put up swings and see-saws and other games. Then, it is often lost sight of that girls and very small children need play as much as the boys. They require for their physical development and health this vigorous exercise just as much as the large boys. You remember the penalty England had to pay for neglecting physical training and play life! When the Boer War broke out they were compelled to reject almost every second man because his physique was not up to the required standard. How important it is, then, from a national standpoint that we should develop the play spirit! A man cannot be successful in business, in school, or any other line, unless he has a sound and healthy body, and this can only be acquired by careful attention to hygienic law.

Playgrounds require supervision. The reason why the playground at the foot of Yonge Street is perfectly useless is that there is no one to supervise it. It is used as a meeting place by a lot of fellows who do no good to themselves or to anyone else. To show how it might be turned to good account, let me give the following instance: There was a club of young fellows in St. John's Ward, in whom a number of ladies were interested. They got the use of these grounds for their annual games, and the ladies went down to encourage the boys in their competitions. They provided lemonade for the boys, and encouraged them to be fair and honorable. A gentleman said to me afterwards: " I pass there a great deal, and, to my utter astonishment, on this occasion I did not hear a word of profanity." The reason was the presence of the young ladies, and the boys were too manly, too chivalrous, to use any expressions that their friends should not hear. Athletics should be under the direction of men who love children and want to see them have a good time. This very morning a gentleman came to me and asked me if I would have the law altered so that lads under the age of eighteen would be prohibited from going into billiard rooms. I said to him: " Billiards is a fine game." " But," said he, "the associations are bad." The game is all right, but the associations are bad. The fact is, we have allowed fine games, such as ninepins and billiards, to get down into the saloons and back of cigar stores, where there is gambling and an altogether wrong spirit.

Should we not elevate these things? Why not have these clubs properly maintained and have opportunities so that the poorest boy in the land could learn to swim, and where young men could play billiards and have a good time without the slur that they are loafers and bummers and that they are wasting their time? There are Christian people who convey the impression that religion is a sad-faced, heavy-hearted thing. If I believed that I would give up Christianity. But I know that the Lord never intended us to go through the world with a sad, long face. He wants us to be happy and enjoy life. Let us, therefore, take a little more time from business, and go in for simple enjoyments. An old man said to me the other day: " I never take a pill or medicine of any kind. When I get run down and out of sorts I go out and play golf." And, gentlemen, I want to tell you that is the best medicine any of you can ever take. I am here largely in the interests of the children. Play is good for you, but it is better for them, and if you have not got the time to consider this yourself, do everything in your power to see that the boys and girls are provided with opportunities for enjoyment, so that they may grow up strong and well and able to battle with life. Take our friend, Inspector Hughes—over sixty years of age, and with the heart of a boy. Where did he get his exuberance of spirit? On the lacrosse field; and there are many men in business to-day whose best possession is good health, which they owe to the fact that they belonged to the old Toronto Lacrosse Club. And, let me say this, in conclusion, that a young fellow who goes in heartily for athletics and for clean sport is going to make a fine man and a good citizen. He is bound to reflect that happiness that springs from good health into the minds and hearts of those around him, and thus add very materially to the sum total of human happiness.

The Hon. A. B. Morine, K.C., President of the Guild of Civic Art, spoke briefly.

At three o'clock this afternoon the City Council meets in special session to consider the report of a select committee upon the management of parks. My speech to you will confine itself almost altogether to asking that every man here who has heard the address of Mr. Kelso will show his real interest in the matter by going up to the session of the City Council and hearing what is said there, and, by your presence, bring your influence to bear upon that very good report. I trust that this request will be taken earnestly to himself by every man, and that you will not allow the claims of business to prevent you from expressing in this way your interest in the matter. The principle of the report which has been presented is that the management of the parks and playgrounds of the city, and kindred subjects of that kind, shall be placed under the control of a Commission. The detailed proposal, as distinguished from the principle, is that the commission shall be elected by the citizens at large. I make this distinction for this reason, that even the Guild of Civic Art have had amongst themselves differences of opinion as to the best manner in which such a body should be formed. Some have thought of an appointed body, some of an elected body, some of a partly appointed and partly elected one; but all of us have agreed—and I am sure almost every citizen agrees—on the main question, that there should be a Commission of some sort.

We want a separation of municipal functions. We say that the City Council, in their dealings with all the varied subjects that come before them, would be more than mortal if they did well with all of them. We want this thing to be in charge of a number of men who will have nothing else to do in the way of civic duties, who will be held responsible to those who appoint or elect them for the faithful discharge of their duty in this one respect. Suppose you have a Committee of the City Council dealing with it; if that Committee had nothing at all to do but that, they probably would do as well as a Commission, but they do have other things to do, and if they do not do well, how can we call them to account? They are elected by wards; they have a thousand and one questions to deal with. When they come before the ward for re-election it is not possible to judge them by what they did about parks; you can never bring them to judgment and pass your verdict upon them in one particular. This is not fair to them and it is not fair to the city. We contend that if we have a Commission charged with the care of the parks, elected by the people, or even appointed, we can look to it and prevent it from having anything to do with any other branch of the public services. Upon that particular branch of the public service we can say, "You did well and deserve re-election," or, "You did ill and deserve punishment." The essence of good government is to have a ready means of calling a man to account and rewarding him or punishing him according to his deserts.

That is the sort of thing that you cannot expect from a committee of the City Council. I have heard many complain of various things in the city, and I do not always agree with the complaint. I know that generally members of these bodies are better than the men who throw stones at them. I find no fault with the City Council of Toronto in the work that it has done in the main. I think a great deal of good work has been done in the city. There is a large amount of park ground in

Toronto, and it reflects credit, but the faults that we have to find and the complaints we have to make (and the recent evidence that has been taken proves the existence and the causes of those mistakes) are not so much the faults of the men as the faults of the system. It is said that the members of the City Council are so wedded to the exercise of patronage that they are not prepared to consider this matter on its merits. I am not one who agrees with that at all. I believe they will deal with it on its merits.

BRITISH POLITICIANS.

Address by MR. DUNCAN C. HOSSACK, of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 12th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

It is fitting that, at the beginning of this address, something should be said about the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. Great interest is now taken in the Premiership, because it is understood that Campbell-Bannerman will soon be obliged to retire from the high position which he has filled with distinction. It was supposed, before Campbell-Bannerman came into great prominence, that he would never be more than a second or third-rate politician. He was not credited with any sense of humour. It was supposed that he was a fair specimen of his Scottish compatriots who, it is facetiously said, make a joke with difficulty. But it has been discovered that Campbell-Bannerman has, with many other good qualities, a keen sense of humour. This is characteristic of many of the leaders in Great Britain, and I think that one can hardly succeed in public life unless he has some sense of humour. I was authorized some time ago to visit Knox College, Toronto, and to offer a sum of money to the Students' Missionary Society, the members of which are largely of Scottish descent, provided that they would send forth a missionary who had some sense of humour. It was a difficult problem, but the officers of the Society said that they thought they could supply what was required, so I paid the money.

When Campbell-Bannerman came into prominence in the British Parliament, he faced a difficult task, a task to which Gladstone himself had been unequal. It was the task of holding together the discordant elements of the

MR. DUNCAN C. HOSSACK,
of Toronto, Ont.

Liberal Party, or of bringing together the elements, which had been somewhat separated. You will remember that, when Gladstone retired, Lord Rosebery was called upon to form a Government, which he did, and the Government lasted a very short time; and it is said that the explanation of Rosebery's going to the country so speedily is to be found in the action of the present Prime Minister —Campbell-Bannerman. The Government was defeated in the House on a measure which he—Campbell-Bannerman—had introduced with regard to military expenditure. It was a very minor measure, and such a defeat would not have been considered, under ordinary circumstances, a real cause for dissolution; but Rosebery had the feeling—and here we find, I think, one characteristic which is most creditable to British statesmen—that, if there were any doubt about the confidence of the people in the Government of the day, the people should be called upon to decide the matter immediately. So there was a dissolution, and the Government went to the country and, as was expected, they were defeated. And if I am to draw a moral (I suppose I might as well make my application as I go along and draw the moral from time to time), I would say that one of the features of British politics which we might very well copy is this—that one ought not, when in power, to try to hold office too long.

Governments frequently retain office in this country too long. The balance between the two parties is not well maintained. The Government is usually, when it goes in, exceedingly strong, and the Opposition very weak; and the explanation is that the old Government remains in until its strength is utterly depleted. The Governments in this country seem to gradually bleed to death until finally, pale and corpse-like, they are carried forth to burial; and the result is that it requires a generation for the Opposition to gather new blood and new strength, and in the meantime the Government, which has assumed office in overwhelming strength, unchecked by an Opposition, runs into excess. Campbell-Bannerman assumed office at a most crucial time, but he was equal to the occasion. His strength lies largely in his ability to manage men, and while he is not a great orator like Gladstone and not so subtle as Balfour, he is a great manager of men, and when he resigns office, and it is likely that he will soon be obliged to retire, how long his successor will be able to hold together the somewhat discordant elements of the Liberal Party, who can tell! It is supposed that Mr. Asquith, who is a lawyer, will succeed him. Asquith is fifty-six years of age and still in his prime as a politician. He was junior counsel for Charles Russell in the Parnell-*Times* case. He is a brilliant lawyer, and few lawyers, brilliant or not, have been successful in a large way as politicians in Great Britain—I make no reference to lawyers in this country. Mr. Asquith does not excel as a politician, using the word in the ordinary sense. He is a hard, stern fighter, but he has not the sunny ways. Some Liberals are wondering at the present time what will be the fate of the Liberal Party when Mr. Asquith, good parliamentarian as he is, becomes Premier.

I must pass on to others. What shall I say of Lloyd-George? It is said that if he had not been a politician, he would have been a preacher. He is a Welshman with all the fire of the Welsh race. It is said that there are only three or four men in the House to-day who can really make a great and eloquent speech. John Redmond is one. Lloyd-George is another. He is a comparatively young man; by the way, he also is a lawyer, but he does not practice law. He is too busy with politics and his brother conducts the business for him. Lloyd-George, a Baptist in religion, is one of the great Nonconformist leaders of Great Britain. It is said that the one word which indicates his ambition, if one word may fill such a large office, is "Wales." His desire is to help his native country. Those who ought to know say that the time is likely to come when Lloyd-George will lead the Liberal Party and possibly be Prime Minister of Great Britain. While it has been said, as I have already remarked, that if he had not been a politician he would probably have been a preacher, he does not parade his religion. There runs, however, a strong vein of moral feeling and principle through many of his speeches. I think that probably he is able to do more as a politician than as a preacher. The two occupations do not seem to go very well together in this country! They do not mix well, but they are said to mingle more harmoniously in Britain. Each profession has its limitations and its peculiar sphere of usefulness. It was John Bright who said: "I consider that when I stand upon a platform, as I do now, I am engaged in as solemn a labour as Mr. Dale (a Birmingham minister) when he addresses his congregation."

I now direct your attention to Mr. Balfour. While they speak of "Pushful Joe" (Chamberlain), the people do not forget "Subtle Arthur." Arthur Balfour is original and almost unique. It is said that in public he speaks as if he had been dragged into the discussion, as if he were constrained to speak of something in regard to which he had no very great feeling, and as if he would rather be engaged in other employment. It was considered for a long time that he was not capable of any serious work. He plays golf (by the way, so does Mr. Asquith) and those who know best say that when he plays golf he never swears. I have known Prime Ministers in this country about whom that could not very well be said, but I have also known some exceedingly useful men who had that as one of their faults. Mr. Balfour came into prominence as one of the Fourth Party, of whom, I suppose, Randolph Churchill was the leader. He is a college-bred man, a great student, characterized in his religious belief—if he has any religious belief—by an easy kind of skepticism.

I must not forget that man who is not now in the House, who has only recently departed from it, the unique and wonderful character, Henry Labouchere, the owner of *Truth*. It was said of Horace Greeley, the great editor, that he always backed his opinions with his money; and it has been said of some other editors and proprietors of newspapers that they backed their money with their opinions. There is this difference between a lawyer and an editor: you know who a lawyer is speaking for because usually he sits close to him, but you may not know for whom an editor is speaking. It is sometimes difficult to determine who owns a paper, or in whose interest the editorials are written. There is this, however, to be said about *Truth*— that you always know who is speaking through that journal—it is always Henry Labouchere. His conversation is in a low voice and people are always eager to hear him. He speaks in a very plain and unostentatious way. He is a very honest man. He is, I think, one of the greatest factors for good that the House of Commons in Britain has ever had. He is a man always looking for experiences, and it is said that the man who looks for them usually finds them. They came to him or he went to them, rapidly. During the war between France and Germany he was an interested observer. He remained in Paris that he might have the experiences of the siege. Rumor says that he travelled with an American circus for a time.

He was a member of the Washington Legation for some years. His experiences have given him character. He is always composed, never ruffled. He is a jester and he teaches moral lessons by his jests. It was said by an actor, of preachers in general, that they always speak the truth as if it were fiction but that actors speak fiction as if it were truth. Labouchere is an exception to both these rules—he speaks truth in such a way that, while it is winged by a jest, people always know that it is meant to be the truth. He is a man who has made money out of newspapers. I do not know much about newspapers but I am aware that some have not always been profitable. When his daughter was married, he gave her, it is said, $7,000,000. Rumour says it was paid in cash. I have heard it said that that is the only safe way to receive it. I am sure some of you will feel sorry when I tell you that he has only one daughter! There came an Englishman into the Legation at Washington, one day, and in a rather pompous way asked for the British Minister. Labouchere, who was sitting in his office and who was a member of the Legation, said that the Minister was not in at the time, and the visitor declared in a brusque way that he would sit down and wait until he did come in. Labouchere went on with his letters and his smoking and the time slipped away. The Englishman, after a long wait, became somewhat ruffled. At length Labouchere began to close his work and prepare to leave the office, and the Englishman, referring to the Minister, asked: "Where is he?" Labouchere said: "I should think that about this time, as he left New York about the middle of last week, he will be pretty nearly across to England." (Laughter.) Labouchere loves his joke, but he is a man of great sincerity and has done much for independence of thought in Britain.

A few words about John Morley. He is an agnostic, and he is elected in Great Britain. There, when the people want a man for Parliament, they consider his fitness for Parliament, and they do not worry very much about his religious views. Mr. Morley met evil fortune at the beginning of his career. He was a great figure in the world of literature, and people had the impression that a writer was useless in any other occupation. He tried for a seat in Parliament on several occasions. The first time he was a candidate was twenty years before he was elected. I think it is Whitcomb Riley who writes about the man who bides his time:

"Who bides his time, he tastes the sweet
Of honey in the saltest tear,
And, tho' he fares with slowest feet,
Joy runs to meet him drawing near."

This experience does not apply to political life. The candidate who seeks a constituency and bides his time does not have much joy running to meet him. Morley finally succeeded in obtaining a seat in the House, and to the surprise of many of his friends he was a great success as a parliamentarian. Probably he will be longest remembered for his literary work. He wrote the best "Life of Cobden," ever written and probably the best "Life of Gladstone," which has ever been or ever will be written. Morley's opinion of Gladstone is the one that in the main will very largely prevail, although some think that his opinion of that great parliamentarian is too high.

Gladstone was the greatest parliamentarian of our time. I do not say orator, because he was not as great an orator as Bright. I do not say statesman, because there may have been greater. There will be a difference of opinion in regard to his character, for in some respects he was an enigma. But will not all agree that he was the greatest parliamentarian of his time? If Gladstone had lived in the Orient he would have been a great Prophet. If he had lived in Mahomet's time, I do not believe we would have heard of Mahomet. I think he would have had more virtues than Mahomet and as great a faculty for leading men. He had the power to arouse men, and he had this trait also, that he was always able to persuade himself, and, I think, in all sincerity, that whatever he did was a religious act. It is a happy faculty. It was said by a witty Irishman that Gladstone always had an ace up his sleeve. At the psychological moment that ace came forth, and Gladstone always believed that it was a providential arrangement. Lord Salisbury described him as a great Christian. All depends on Salisbury's view of Christianity. When all has been said and done, no charge remains against Gladstone's private character; his life was pure; sins of the flesh he apparently had none; sins of the spirit, his enemies say, he had. He was a great character, the greatest parliamentarian of his age.

Now, perhaps, I ought to say a word about John E. Redmond, the leader of the Irish Party. If you were to hear Mr. S. H. Blake in one of his kindly moods, you could almost persuade yourself that you were listening to the voice of John E. Redmond. Parnell did not appreciate Redmond, although Redmond served him faithfully, and, when Parnell's difficulty occurred, Redmond remained with the minority who supported Parnell, while Dillon became the leader of the Irish Party. Redmond followed Parnell through everything, right to the end. It is said of a great Canadian statesman that he did not appreciate very highly the support of men who always followed him when he was right, but he did appreciate the men who followed him when he was wrong. Whether Redmond believed that Parnell was right or wrong, he followed him. As an example of political self-sacrifice, we will with difficulty find an equal to John Dillon who represented the majority of the Irish Party. He waived his claim to leadership that there might be union, and Redmond became leader of the United Irish Party. Redmond, it is said, is one of the three or four men who can make a really eloquent speech in the House of Commons. His speech is rather old-fashioned, but it is real eloquence. He has developed into a great parliamentarian and a great leader.

It is said that John Burns may be Chancellor of the Exchequer if Asquith becomes Prime Minister. Of course we are not now forming Governments, and that statement is merely rumour. John Burns has had a wonderful career. Born on the south side of London, he left school when he was about ten years of age. He was very poor and after a great struggle qualified as an engineer, then became an engineer on one of the Niger boats, returned to Europe and spent all his money in touring the Continent. When his money was exhausted, he settled down as a practicing engineer in London. The people of his class, at that time, had no votes. He began to go about, speaking and declaiming, and became a great popular orator.. He is short, swarthy as a Spaniard, and of great physical strength. So wonderful is his strength that he can perform feats hardly to be credited. In due time he was elected to Parliament by the constituency in which he was born. He was also a member of the London Council. He developed very rapidly in the House of Commons, and his great characteristic, which is moderation in all things, became apparent. He is usually willing to compromise. He is said to be a most successful man on important committees. He has represented his constituency ever since his first election. He was with those who did not hold the opinion of the majority of Britishers in regard to the Boer war, but his constituency sustained him through all vicissitudes and continued to support him in Parliament. He is there now, and one cannot tell how far he may go or how high he may rise.

It is only fitting that something should be said about Michael Hicks-Beach, who recently retired from the House. Black Michael, they called him, not so much on account of his complexion as of a certain dourness or grimness which he seems to have. He was one of the best debaters in the House of Commons, although he was perhaps rather stern and vigorous of speech. He never liked Chamberlain, although they were in the same Government. He is tall, stern, and exceedingly well-dressed, and some one—by the way, I think he was an Irishman—said that Macaulay, in writing his "Lays of Ancient Rome," in speaking of the Roman bugle call: "The shio knows well the long, stern swell," had a direct reference to Michael Hicks-Beach. There is this to be said of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach that he was one of the greatest Chancellors of the Exchequer, and he occupied that post for two terms; and there is this also to be said of him, that he was a man of independent thought, of upright character, who loved the truth and never hesitated to express it.

What shall I say of Rosebery, who ploughs his lonely furrow? Another enigma. There is no man in Britain to-day who can make as good an after-dinner speech as Lord Rosebery. There is no man who is so well qualified to give an oration on a particular occasion as Lord Rosebery. He came into office when Gladstone retired, at a difficult time, and his Government did not last long. He had three ambitions when he was young, worthy or unworthy as they may have been. One was to win the Derby, and he did it twice; another was to marry the richest heiress in England—he did that once. The third was to be Prime Minister; only once did he accomplish this. Rosebery is an exceedingly able man. How to explain his career after his Government was defeated it is very difficult to say. I think it was Campbell-Bannerman who spoiled Rosebery's career. I think that Rosebery, who was tired of much of Gladstone's policy, had the desire to organize a new Liberal Party with a great part of Gladstone's policy left out; and he underrated Campbell-Bannerman's capacity. The latter, developing wonderfully and unexpectedly, proved himself to be a really good party leader and kept Rosebery out of office. This is given as the explanation.

What of Chamberlain? He began life, it is said, as a red republican. He came from Birmingham, and John Bright used to say: "You might as well take a glass of water out of the sea and expect to find it fresh as to take a man out of Birmingham and not expect to find him radical." He was looked upon as uncouth and dangerous, and, when it was known that he was elected, people awaited in dismay his entrance upon Parliamentary duties; and when he arose in the house, tall, spare and exceedingly well-dressed, with a gentle voice that almost seemed to purr, one good old squire, the story goes, said that he looked like a ladies' doctor. Chamberlain, on the first occasion of his speaking, made a reputation, and everybody knew that an exceedingly able man had entered Parliament. He has changed his opinions; so have other men. Gladstone changed his views. We cannot always see behind the scenes and understand the springs of human action. Those who disliked Chamberlain, and in particular I may refer to the Irish Party, say that he is a renegade. It seems to me that the best defense of his change of view is given in "The Life of Lord Randolph Churchill." If one reads that book, he will modify his views, if he has been severe upon Chamberlain for changing his opinions. Chamberlain is an exceedingly able debater, or was until he became infirm. Latterly, as you all know, he has had a firm belief in a larger Imperialism; and if one reads British politics with an unbiased mind, he will come to the conclusion that the Empire, if it is to make progress, or if it is to retain its present influence, must possess an Imperial spirit, larger, freer, more potent, than it has ever known.

Of British politicians it may be said that frequently their speeches have a more literary flavour than the speeches we hear in Canada or the United States. The British politician has more leisure than the Canadian and more time for literary study. British politicians are willing to work in an unobtrusive way. There is a great love of the spectacular in—well, as you are Canadians, I will say in the United States. Many people will do nothing unless they are in the limelight. The British politician seems to be willing to work in an unobtrusive way and to do unappreciated work. On this side of the sea we like big things—we like the spectacular. How we value the Niagara Falls? Rightly so! It is a great heritage, and it will with its power, turn the wheels of a thousand mills. We admire the Falls on account of the obtrusive and spectacular. There is not so much praise for the little rills that have for a hundred years refreshed our meadows and gladdened and made green the dusty ways. The best service is often the unobtrusive and unappreciated. This the British politician seems willing and happy to render.

It appears that British politicians of both parties do not cling so desperately to office as politicians in Canada. The darkest pages of our history had not been written, had leaders been willing to resign when popular favour had departed. Such desperate attempts as have been witnessed on this side of the sea have not been made in Britain to sustain by unworthy means Governments which have forfeited all right to popular support. Perhaps for this reason the average British Parliamentary term is brief. It may be said that in the main the British politician will do his duty rather than strive for personal benefit or power. In this we see not the least of the factors which have made the British Parliament the greatest the world has ever known.

The Rev. R. A. Falconer, D.D., LL.D.
President of the University of Toronto.

CANADA AS A FIELD FOR THE SOLUTION OF IMPERIAL PROBLEMS.

Address before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 26th, 1908, by the REV. R. A. FALCONER, D.D., LL.D., President of the University of Toronto.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The Dominion of Canada is a proof to the world of the mastery, the masterfulness, of Great Britain as a colonizing power. Though there may have been some in the past who cavilled at Britain, and though probably the period when the United States withdrew from Britain might have produced in some minds the belief that the English people had lost their power of colonizing, I believe that to-day Canada, standing side by side with the United States as one of a large number of related dependencies, is a proof that Britain has not lost her power for colonizing; that there is still the adaptable spirit in Britain, and that she is still able to weld into one, divergent nationalities. Quebec, standing as it does in the midst of other provinces, so homogeneous, so tenacious of her old customs, in many respects so loyal to another civilization, progressing withal in population and in power, and yet being an integral part of this Dominion and preserving loyalty above all to Britain, is a proof that in the British race there is a marvellous power and adaptation in welding together diverse interests. The fact that at the head of the Dominion of Canada to-day there is a Prime Minister of that race is a standing testimony to the largeness of view of Great Britain as represented in her Empire.

There is a great deal of fascination about our history, a history that stretches back so far now. There is also with it a great deal of natural beauty which forms a background for the great problems of empire that have been solved in this country. You think of the great crises of our history, and think of the localities in which our history was moulded—Louisburg, Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Niagara—all these scenes are more or less accordant with the transactions in which mighty matters were in the struggle for ascendancy. There is no dull monotony of landscape, but you have charm, you have majesty, you have even stern grandeur; and this local fascination of the spots on which our history has been wrought out is a large element that goes to form our national conceptions. In addition to that the seeds of Empire have been laid through this eastern part of the Dominion for a great many years, through the various surging tides from the old days when there was interest in Acadia, and through Quebec, and up over the rivers, and through the Great Lakes, right down to the present. There have been periods of great turmoil, of great confusion; periods of warlike struggle, periods of civil struggle; and, like heavy clouds, these crises have swept over our nation from the east almost to the west. At times they may have been thought to be disturbing elements, but we may look upon these struggles as being often the fertilizing clouds that watered the seed from which our Dominion has sprung; whereas the glare of constant prosperity might have withered it up in individualism, arid, dry, without any productive power. As we look back over the past, then, these struggles have entered into our life and have been factors in the development of the Imperial problems which have been solved and which we are to solve in the days to come.

There is, further, a great deal of interest—I might almost say fascination—about the men who from time to time have been flung up to the surface, and have led our people in the solution of these problems. In every Province there have been political heroes, men who attracted to themselves the interest and the affection of the people, men of whom we are not ashamed, men of whom the whole Empire need not be ashamed; and at the times of crisis we seem never to have been wanting in some such strong, fascinating, dominating persons who have in themselves represented the problems that have been facing the people, and who led the people out to unknown paths; often, if I may be allowed to change the figure, by their very life-blood they have cemented the foundations on which our Dominion has since been built. There is a vast amount of fascination on the personal side of our Dominion's history.

The Dominion also is a field for illustrating the great problems of government, not only our own government, but the government of the Empire at large. Historians are telling us to-day that, as they investigate our past in this Dominion, they see that almost the supreme problems of any government were threshed out from the beginning on our own soil; that you can illustrate almost all the problems of self-government in one way or another, in one part or another, of our history in this Dominion. They not only tell us that, but they tell us that the history in our Dominion reacted upon the history of the Mother-land, and that the progress in government, and in true democracy in Britain itself, during the nineteenth century, was in no inconsiderable way moulded by the very struggles that were going on in our own Dominion of Canada. It is not very long since that was borne in upon me, and the more I consider it the truer does it seem to me to be; and that at once answers this question: "What is the use of the Colonies being kept in touch with Great Britain? If they serve no commercial interest, why not cut the painter, why keep them simply for a sentimental reason?" Now, it is not the commercial side that interests me particularly. It is not the sentimental side that interests me, but I believe that the great reason why we must keep our close connection in the Empire, even for the sake of Britain, is that as Britain seeks to illustrate the great principles of government in various forms through her great Empire, she in her own home becomes stronger to attack problems arising there, and she undertsands more fully how they should be adapted to the circumstances which she has to face.

Think of the stream of men that have gone forth from

Britain for the last three hundred years, and more than that, men of the very finest quality. She has never begrudged her best, and these men have gone forth with certain conceptions of British freedom and of British law. When they went forth they thought that these might be applied in certain ways, and you all know that it is one thing to have a theory and it is another thing to see that theory work out in practice. But as these men of finest quality have been faced with new situations, with new peoples, with new conditions, the theories that they took with them have been modified. Their ideas have been changed. They had to adapt their theories to circumstances, and powerful minds, adapting these theories to circumstances, got a new idea of the sweep and scope of the principles with which they went forth, and they have returned to Britain and have reacted upon Britain and have given Britain herself a largeness of view, a power, a breadth, that otherwise would have been impossible.

Think what it means to Britain to have a man like Lord Cromer, not merely from a sentimental point of view. Not at all. I am leaving that out of account; but a man of his power, who had to take the British ideals and work out as many of those ideals as was possible in new circumstances, in new surroundings. He knows where their strength lies; he knows where their essential value is as others cannot know; and so it is with the statesmen of the Indian Empire, and I believe that the part of the Empire that really first contributed most largely to this development of Great Britain was none other than the Dominion of Canada. Therefore, this stream of men coming out, this idea on the part of Britain that she must give her best to others, is a very means of strengthening herself at home. It is not merely land grasping. Too often, perhaps, our Imperial instinct leads us to that. That is a low motive entirely. It is not merely that we may expand our commerce, but it is that the world may understand the ideals that the Briton stands for, and that men may understand their meaning better as he sought to give to others that which he has found serviceable to himself.

Now that leads us to believing that more and more we may look to the solution of some of the most serious home problems from within our Empire itself. You know the problems, some of them, that are coming up. You know that some of these are social problems. In a way the most serious problems of the world to-day are not those on the confines of the Empire, but they are those in the heart of the Empire, in our own great cities, in our own country, problems calling, clamantly calling, for solution; and I believe that these problems will be best solved by those who have had a good training in principles of self-government, put to the test through years of self-sacrifice, not of aggrandizement or of glory; years of devotion to certain ideals, years of patient, earnest, attempting to work out for less favoured peoples the blessings that have been enjoyed in more civilized lands—that all this will bear fruit by reacting on the homeland, and will give to us a fuller and a freer solution of what faces us in our own immediate environment. That is the great underlying reason why I believe that the British Empire should be maintained.

The next part of my subject is "How Canada can contribute in the present to the solution of these problems." She has helped in the past, as I have already said. No Empire has stood long simply through force, simply by pressure from without, simply by arming itself against attack. No strong Empire has ever lasted long that way. It is not the coat of armour that has been the defence, but it has been the man within the coat of armour, the man who has known how to use it, and I sincerely hope that the day will soon come when armies and navies will be as obsolete for defence as many of our coats of armour in our museums to-day. The real power that makes a nation is the life that is in it, and I like to think of a nation as an organism—an organism with head and body and members, an organism healthy, compacted, knit together as joint fits joint, kept powerful and strong because of the healthy life-blood that flows through it, because of the direction and energy that comes from the brain and is carried out into every member of it; an organism working together in an intelligent, strong, moral way. I like to think of the Empire as a living organism. If so, what then is the function of Canada in this organism? I believe our function will be the understanding of that essence of the British nationality that has given it its distinctive worth, preserving it and handing it on in strength to some other member of the Empire. You ask, ''What is that?" Well, at this time in the afternoon it would be absurd for me to linger long over this, but there are one or two points that will bring out my meaning.

There is, first of all, the British idea of the home, and of the family, and of our domestic life. That, after all, is the root of all life and of all living. And the word home means a great deal to a man of Anglo-Saxon extraction. There is, further, a certain standard of morality in business life, a certain interest, a certain uprightness, that we say ought to be characteristic of the true Briton; that is altogether different from whatever theory you may hold as to free trade or protection. It is a certain ethical code, relationship between man and man in his commercial dealings. A third is the respect for law and the regard for freedom; law, not as something tyrannical, imposed by force from without, against which you rise in almost protest, but law as the reasonable expression of a thoroughly organized social life which we accept as the truest expression of what makes up our intercourse one with another; law and freedom—the one the obverse, the other the reverse. This has been a large element in the British nationality. Further, there has been the thought of religion as at the basis of a man's life, and lying below his morality; that our life has its foundations rooted in the unseen, and that you and I in our duty are responsible to powers that make for good and have control over us. And, lastly, there is the belief in education, that education should be given to all; that the mind should be trained; that intellectual power should be developed, and that the man should go forth with his eyes open to look at things as they are, as competent to understand what is brought within his reach.

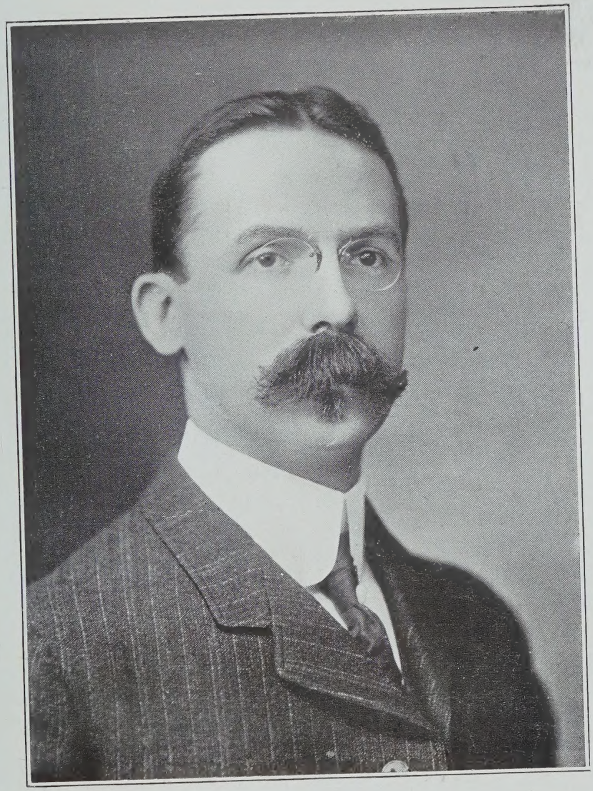
These are some of the elements that have entered into Britain's national life. You say "Don't you find them in other nations?" Of course you do. What, then, is it that makes us cling to Britain? It is the blend, the proportion, in which these ingredients enter into the character and the quality of each. As we go back over our past we recognize that our present is made up very largely of the things that we have inherited. We look at things to-day as we do because of the environment with which we have been surrounded, because of the traditions that have been handed down to us. Our friendships in life determine our tastes largely; so that taste itself is very little of an objective, much more of a subjective thing. So our judgments are moulded by our environments, likes and dislikes. So we have inherited from Britain, from our past, from the Empire, certain ways of looking at life, certain ways of regarding the home. We are not at ease unless we get certain qualities in our home, in our friends; unless they give us certain points of view. So in our trade, so in our law, so in our religion, so in our education. It is the type and the quality of the thing, the proportion of the ingredients, as I have said, and the general effect of the whole. These are elements in their various proportions that have entered into our nationality and have made us what we are.

Now we cannot help, I believe, regarding these things, and in the proportion in which they have come to us they seem of higher value to the world than almost any other contribution that any other nation has yet given. We believe in Britain because of what she has given to us, because of what we are ourselves. We cannot look at her from any other point of view; our affection goes out to her—our mind, our thought, go out to her. And we think that it is as these ideals are taken up by us, given perhaps a certain turn, and passed on to others to meet new situations, that we shall fulfill our function in the world. This has been a very abstruse talk for the last few minutes, but I think we may perhaps come to something less philosophical and more practical. Since ideas of this kind are of the very essence of life, since it is these thoughts that bind us together, since these inspirations make our manhood, nerve our right arm, give us power to do our own special work in the world, I should say that it is our duty in the Empire to make as easy as possible the transmission from one part of it to another of these very ideas—and ideas travel through human channels. Therefore, if Canada is in the future to perform her function in the Empire she ought, I believe, to be kept in close touch with the Empire, and we should have more intercourse of men and of thought than we have.

It is as men travel and get to know one another that they respect one another. Now, separated as we are by long stretches of land and of sea from various parts of the Empire, our interest is apt to weaken; and perhaps sometimes by harshness from the one to the other, or by what we may regard as rebuffs, or lack of sympathy, our affection is apt at times to wane. The method for increasing this affection, the method for uniting men more closely together, is to bring them together, to make them understand one another, to see that they understand the difficulties that each has to face, and when they have understood this, that in common they should set to work to work them out. Therefore anything that would open up means of intercourse between Britain and the Colonies ought to be very cordially welcomed by us all. This will enrich our life, it will give us some new views of perhaps old thoughts that have been growing faint and dim. Men, as they come to us, will give us new stimulus; as we go to them we get new ideas and come back. That does not mean that there is to be any more repetition of the past.

No Canadian of to-day who has any self-respect would imagine that we are to simply repeat the past and be another Britain over again. By no means. No self-respecting nation like Britain would imagine for a moment that those who have gone forth from her are merely to re-duplicate what she has done. The problems are not the same by any means, but what we do expect is that, with the same ideals, we should face our new surroundings, and that we should feel that there is a common outlook and a common aim set before us all. Therefore we must rejoice, not only in the opening of a means of intercourse, but rejoice also in the interchange of ideas that comes to us through periodicals, magazines, papers—everything of that kind; and it is a matter to be devoutly thankful for that the returns from the British Post Office, lately sent out, say that since the postage has been reduced, there has been an enormous increase in the number of British periodicals that have come into Canada. Then, further, I believe that our interchange in religious bodies, and in educational societies, and in universities and colleges, will bring ideas to the front that perhaps have been neglected.

I do not intend to detain you any longer because I have exhausted the half-hour, and will merely gather up what I have been trying to bring out. It is this: That Canada, standing in the midst of the Empire, has been the scene in the past in which some of the largest problems dealing not only with the Empire, with the heart of the Empire, Britain itself, have been brought to a solution; that we belong to this Empire because to us the principles of government and of life on which it has been based are regarded as the truest expression of our manhood, and that we are in the future to go forward to the solution of those problems not by isolating ourselves from all others, not by insulating ourselves from the nations round about us in which there is a vast amount that we must admire, but by strengthening the ties throughout the Empire, by opening up every avenue of intercourse throughout this Empire that men may come together, understand one another better, that their ideas may be sent forth and travel from end to end with greater freedom; and that we should welcome the conjoint attempt that is made by all who call themselves British to face the new problems, particularly it may be of a social character, that are looming up large on our horizon; and we may hope that as we have received in the past so much, so also together we shall work out in unison a solution that will be larger, broader and more humane than if we were to go on our way in a narrow, self-centered path.



Mr. James Parton Haney.

Secretary of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, New York.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

Address by Mr. James Parton Haney, Secretary of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education and Director of Art and Manual Training, New York City Public Schools, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 23rd, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

We are told that in this world there appears a duality in all things. It is a world spiritual and a world material. This appears in matters educational. It is part of our heritage to hold that the spiritual rather than the material side of education is the one to which we should adhere. Our educational system has long been one which aimed first and foremost at culture. But as time has passed the pendulum of change has begun to swing the other way, until now many in the community are laying emphasis on the necessity of an education more material—one which shall give the boy who must make his living with his hands some specific training to this end.

The earlv history of this continent saw small cities and a wide-spread rural population. The country boy's school training was limited indeed; the studies he pursued were few, and the books used fewer. For more than half the year he was out of school, busy on the farm or in the village shop. His education ended soon, so far as school was concerned; albeit, it continued long at the bench or forge. The training which led on and up to college was an education of the few. It was the education of those who were to become leaders, for those who had time and money, as well as brains, to enable them to take advantage of the opportunities offered.

The present sees this idea of educational opportunity grafted upon the democratic ideal, to the end that the doors of the school may be thrown open to all to advance from the primary school to the university. This idea, that all may thus have advantages once offered to the few, is beautiful in theory, but works out ill in practice. A late report of the United States Commissioner of Education notes that there were, the year previous, 5,100,000 children in the entering classes of the primary schools. If our democratic system is to be effective the large majority of the children should stay to receive the training freely offered them. At any rate if they cannot afford to go to college they should at least remain through the high school years. What are the figures? By the fifth year of school that army of 5,100,000 has dropped to 1,200,000. Four million children have disappeared to go to work in the first four years. By the sixth year (the twelfth year of the child's age) that million has dropped to 780,000—the "cry of the dollar" has been heard. By the eighth year the number has decreased to 320,000 and by the ninth year to 240,000. This is the number available for the high schools. Not all by any means enter those schools, but of those that do, the total number graduating at seventeen is only 73,000. This, it will be remembered, is for all the States together.

Because our minds conceive millions with difficulty, let us reduce these figures to others that may be easily grasped. Made more tangible, these figures indicate that a school with an entering class of 5,000 children in its lowest primary class would graduate but 73 of these at the end of its high school course! This is the democratic scheme of education in practice. It means simply that the children will not, or cannot, accept the training that is presented. Our historian, John Fiske, pointed that to the lengthened period of his training man owes his superiority in the animal world, and that the more intelligent the human race, the longer with them would be found the educational period. We have thus come to see that the educational process is not one that stops when the child reaches adolescence. It goes on for years thereafter. In the highest types of men it lasts all life through. As has been said, "the real student remains a student through life." The man who leaves school early has this power of application arrested. He never perceives the wider horizon that comes from pursuing his studies through the quickening years of youth. He atrophies instead of developing; learning little, he loses in time the power of learning more. The early severance of the child from school is not dissimilar to the early weaning of the child from the breast. German army statistics here are significant. These show that the men of that army are stronger, taller, more intelligent and more enduring, directly in proportion to the number of months they were suckled in infancv. Those drawn from the breast early are the undersized, the indolent, the weaklings.

Between the human mother and the alma mater is a strong resemblance. It is the lengthened time in the lap of the school that counts for future strength. Our artisans, leaving at twelve, cannot later develop into the highest type of workmen. Their ripening has been all too brief. If we are to develop a higher type of skilled workman, one fit to compete with the trained worker of France and Germany, then the period of education for that man must be prolonged, and it cannot be prolonged in the modern high schools. The modern high school is not truly a democratic school. It pretends to offer equal opportunity for all, but falsely translates the words " equal opportunity " into meaning the " same opportunity." To offer the same work to all is of necessity to make the opportunity for its completion far from equal. To the boy fitted and anxious to become a professional man, the high school opens wide its doors. It rejoices in the fact that it prepares for college. To the boy anxious to become an expert artisan the high school offers no inducements; it is indifferent to the fact that it could prepare a vast army, now ignored, for life. In a truly democratic scheme of education the modern high school as at present organized will find a minor place. It should rather be made to do what it now only pretends to do —offer an opportunity to every pupil willing to remain upon its rolls to school himself to produce his best.

The old apprenticeship system has disappeared. It had some evil and some good, but with evil and good— it has gone. The modern shop is not a place where the apprentice can be taught with great success, because of the high differentiation and specialization of processes. A few great concerns like the General Electric Co., at Lynn, Mass., and the Baldwin Locomotive Works, have schools for apprentices, but these reach an infinitesimal fraction of the boys to be aided by such training. The boy from fourteen to sixteen finds that he is not wanted as an apprentice or learner in any trade. He is too immature physically to meet the demands made upon the adult in factory or shop. If admitted to the ordinary work-room, it is only to serve as errand boy or assistant in the performance of some routine of unimportant mechanical work, but as errand boy, feeder or helper he receives practically no instruction, and is paid a very trifling wage. There is a serious economic loss both to state and worker under these conditions. The boy has lost school training on the one hand and is unable to recompense himself by adequate technical instruction on the other. With such defective preparation he cannot be expected to develop into a workman of value.

If, then, this vocational training is to be given it must be given in such a way as to reach not the limited number prepared to accept it in the form of trade teaching at the age of sixteen or seventeen, but the far larger army who should receive it at the age of twelve or thirteen before they have left the elementary school, and while there is still time to impress upon them the advantages of learning more of vocational work than can be gotten from the routine work of shop or factory. Wurtemburg, a State no larger than New Jersey, has some 280 industrial schools, more than all the United States together. Munich, a city not half the size of Chicago or New York, has over fifty equipments for as many different trades, so that even the baker's boy and chimney sweep must go to school for a certain number of hours a week to perfect the technical knowledge of the business he professes. We in the United States are behind, and Continental peoples are showing us this in their ability to produce goods of finish better than our own, underbidding our manufacturers in home markets.

Americans think of themselves as a practical people. This is a painfully practical question. Those who have the power to see the future may well view the picture with concern. In Japan they have already seen a nation awakened, but Japan has but a few millions of skilled artisans. Almost within sight of that island lies a land of close-pressed peoples—one with millions on millions of skilful, patient, docile, intelligent workers, but yet asleep to recent inventions and manufactures. Once roused to the possibilities of modern industrial life, this great nation will make the Dominion of Canada and every State throughout the Union thrill to the utmost nerve to meet them in competition. We are behind! Change in our school organization is needed, but this change cannot be brought about in a month or a year. Unless this Association and other Associations of intelligent business men rouse themselves to the problem of Industrial Education, your children, and your children's children will rue the day that saw you indifferent while this question pressed for solution.

I have but a few minutes more, and to be specific in my recommendations will make some practical suggestions. The years from fourteen to sixteen are the " waste years "—when the boy is drifting about from one shop to another, vainly endeavoring to secure a foothold. From this it might be inferred that the most important part of industrial training would deal with pupils between the ages named. In reality the question is one which should deal with the pupil before the age of fourteen, for unless he has received some definite vocational interest before he has reached the limits of his compulsory schooling, he leaves the elementary school without insight or training or any of the things which make for the successful choice and pursuit of a vocation. While therefore trade teaching as such cannot be advocated for the immature pupils of the elementary school, *preparatory, vocational, training* must come to be seen as a necessary preliminary to the development of a class of pupils prepared later to enter the trade school. The years for such training are the sixth, seventh and eighth years of the elementary school, and the two years immediately succeeding. The first three of these are the years when the pupils are most prone to leave school, while the last two form the period when his services in the trade are as yet undesired. By the sixth year the mental capacity and bent of the pupils may be determined. If those who lean toward vocational work can have their interests met at this stage it may reasonably be expected that a very considerable number of them will be induced to remain in school through the period of the usual elementary schooling, while many will in addition continue for one or more of the secondary years, if these offer instruction for the vocationally inclined.

This preparatory work would accept and demand work in Language, work in Number, work in Physics, work in Geography. All of this would be practical. The Mathematics, or Number Work, would deal with mensurations and those problems that connect more readily with the shop. The Geography would be commercial, with the questions of product and transportation constantly brought home. The Science would be of the same practical kind, and the Language lessons would deal with the business letter, the commercial form, the shop report. In every way the atmosphere of these two years of the child's life would be an atmosphere which constantly tended to make the child understand that what he was getting now was good for him to know in the life which he had elected to pursue. Followed in that way for the thirteenth and fourteenth years, it is believed that a number of the boys and girls would be willing to accept the further course, and would eagerly embrace the chance to carry forward such work in the secondary years. Thus the pupil could be kept until the sixteenth year in a school which gave instruction along specific lines, leading through the fundamental operations to some knowledge of one of a number of different trades—the machinist's trade, the cabinet maker's trade, the electrical trade, etc.

Someone may feel that it is desirable to establish a trade school which shall graduate the boy of sixteen or seventeen as a finished workman ready to take his place in the trade. This is a mistake. First, because the boy is too young to do the work of the finished workman, and, second, because this raises economic questions of the gravest significance in any country which has a large body of organized labour which is constantly seeking to raise the standard of living of its members. For these reasons and others it is of the utmost importance that these schools do no more than is suggested—that is, prepare the boys and girls through four years of well-adapted, vocational training, shop visits, and many subjects dealing specifically with the use of tools and machines and processes; to enter into apprenticeships and to shorten these apprenticeships materially.

I assume that in any city like Toronto a school of the type that I indicate which undertook to graduate at the age of sixteen boys that had this three or four years' training would find that there were a dozen manufacturers bidding for those boys and willing to shorten their apprenticeship and advance them more rapidly to journeyman's wages than they could otherwise hope to be advanced. Organized labour will offer no objection to the development of these schools. As secretary of the National Association for the Promotion of Industrial Education it has been my business to communicate with a great many representatives of organized labour all over the Republic, and the response has been almost unanimous in favour of trade teaching, so long (and this phrase occurs in practically every letter) " so long as you do not try to graduate from this school a boy of sixteen or seventeen, not yet completely prepared and of no actual experience in the trade, and to exploit him at any cost."

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